Clerks and Commissioners
The Role of Bishops in the Government of England, c. 1050-1087

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CLERKS AND COMMISSIONERS: THE ROLE OF BISHOPS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, c.1050–1087

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Abstract

Bishops played a crucial part in the government of England and in the consolidation of the Anglo-Norman regime after 1066. Frank Barlow and H. R. Loyn, among others, highlighted the close relationship between William I and his prelates and yet, in spite of their fundamental importance, many of the Conqueror's bishops remain shadowy figures, especially those who began their careers as secular clerks rather than monks. This thesis re-evaluates the political and administrative activities of the Anglo-Norman episcopate, setting them within a longer tradition of episcopal involvement in lay administration and in a wider European context. In particular, it analyses the contribution made by bishops to the Domesday survey, especially in the south-western dioceses, and asks what their involvement reveals about the wider political role of the episcopate in late eleventh-century England.

Employing evidence drawn from royal and episcopal *acta*, from Great Domesday Book, and especially from the Exon Domesday manuscript — newly digitised, edited and translated as part of the AHRC-funded project, 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England' (grant number: AH/L013975/1, dir. J. C. Crick, S. Baxter and P. Stokes) — it argues that bishops helped to shape the Domesday process at every stage, and that their involvement at a provincial level can be detected in the text of Exon Domesday itself. It reconsiders the transformation of the English episcopate in the 1070s and 1080s, suggesting that the replacement of native bishops by men from the continent may have been a symptom of the administrative challenges faced by the new Norman regime, as much as the product of ecclesiastical reform. These conclusions are set against the backdrop of a flexible and pragmatic system of local government in the shires, where bishops played a significant and lasting role, and a royal chapel which effectively prepared clerks and chaplains for episcopal office.

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Abbreviations

Domesday Book	*Domesday Book*, ed. John Morris, 35 vols. (Chichester: Phillimore, 1973–86)
EDB	Exon Domesday Book, ed. and trans. Frank Thorn, 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view>
GDB	Great Domesday Book, *Alecto County Edition of Domesday Book*, general editor R.W.H. Erskine; editor-in-chief Ann Williams, 31 vols. (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1987–92)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

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Introduction

Bishops played a crucial role in the government of England and the consolidation of the Anglo-Norman regime after 1066. They served the king as royal justices and administrators, tutored his children, presided over meetings of the shire court, and organised and even led military expeditions on his behalf. The close relationship between William I and his prelates was highlighted by Frank Barlow and H. R. Loyn among others.[1] Barlow characterised the Conqueror's bishops as 'the king's agents in the provinces', Loyn as 'men capable of bringing administrative order into their territorial dioceses'.[2] Both viewed the mid-eleventh-century English episcopate as rather old-fashioned, behind the intellectual curve of the papal reform movement, 'monarchic in a revolutionary world', and appointed by a king whose ecclesiastical instincts were naturally conservative.[3]

Recent decades have witnessed an increase in scholarly interest in the figure of the bishop across Continental Europe. In an essay originally published in 2000, and translated into English in 2011, Timothy Reuter characterised millennial Europe as 'a Europe of bishops'.[4] This influential article stimulated

[1] Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066: A Constitutional History* (London: Longman, 1963); Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London: Longman, 1979); H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940–1154* (London: Longman, 2000); H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 223–35.
[2] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 65; Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 226.
[3] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 227; see also Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 183.
[4] Timothy Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe. Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms', *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz: Selbsverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengschichte, 2000), 1–25; translated as Timothy Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops: The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', *Patterns of Episcopal Power:*

much further research into the nature of episcopal office and the exercise of power by bishops around the turn of the first millennium, giving rise to important collections of essays, such as *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, and *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Western Europe*.[5] This growing body of scholarship has emphasised the unique position of medieval bishops as representatives of sacred and secular authority, and characterised their dual role as a source of opportunity rather than spiritual or political vulnerability.[6] A colloquium focusing on the themes inspired by Reuter's 'Ein Europa der Bishöfe' is set to occur early in 2018, and will no doubt contribute further to the expanding literature on the subject.

The aim of this thesis, then, is twofold. First, it offers a re-evaluation of the political and administrative activities of the early Anglo-Norman episcopate, through a detailed examination of the documentary sources. In so doing, it seeks to establish, as far as possible, how episcopal involvement in royal government played out in practice, both at the centre and in the localities. Second, it sets the Conqueror's bishops within a wider European context and, by comparing William's episcopal appointments with those of his

Bishops in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Western Europe, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 17–38.

[5] *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004); *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Körntgen and Waßenhoven, (eds.) *Patterns of Episcopal Power*.

[6] Ott and Trumbore Jones, 'Introduction', *The Bishop Reformed*, p. 11.

contemporaries in the Empire, highlights aspects of his ecclesiastical policy which were truly radical and unusual.

Among the questions addressed in the course of this analysis are: what were the formal and informal structures which underpinned the relationship between the monarch and his prelates? How did the king recruit and reward his bishops, and what did he expect of them once in office? What was their role in both routine and extraordinary manifestations of royal government and, specifically, their contribution to the Domesday survey? Did William I have a systematic episcopal policy and, if so, how far did it constitute a break with the political traditions and institutional structures inherited from Anglo-Saxon England? What light can contemporary Continental parallels shed on the political characteristics of the early Anglo-Norman episcopate?

What follows is a study of the role of bishops in the government of England c.1050–1087, and several major aspects of eleventh-century episcopal culture therefore fall beyond its scope. This thesis does not cover liturgy, and touches only tangentially upon pastoral care and canon law. That is not to say that these more explicitly religious concerns did not constitute a crucial part of the experience of being an eleventh-century bishop. The relative silence of this thesis on the ecclesiastical obligations attendant on episcopal office should not be read as an endorsement of the view that mid-eleventh-century bishops were neglectful of the spiritual side of their role. In general, I have tried to avoid the debate about the relative worldliness or holiness of William I's prelates, and have relied primarily on documentary sources in part so as to mitigate the

moralising tone of the twelfth-century chronicle accounts.[7] Likewise, this thesis is not a study of episcopal economic power, and the diocesan, ministerial and personal estates of eleventh-century bishops are considered primarily in strategic and administrative, rather than fiscal terms.[8]

The sources of the enquiry

In spite of their fundamental importance in the government of England, many of the Conqueror's bishops remain shadowy figures, especially those who began their careers as secular clerks rather than monks. Our sources for their activities are partial, and often partisan. Fewer Lives of eleventh-century bishops survive from England than from the Empire — though this may due in part simply to the greater number of dioceses in Germany — and diocesan histories, or *Gesta episcoporum*, were fairly common in French cathedral chapters but unknown in English ones until the early twelfth century.[9] Nor did

[7] For opposing sides of this debate, see Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 79–81, 94–5, 288; Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), Chapter 1. For the twelfth-century chroniclers, see below, pp. 6–7.

[8] For more detailed evaluations of the value and composition of episcopal endowments see Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, Chapter 5, 'Episcopal Wealth'; Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth–Century England: A Study of the "Mensa Episcopalis"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Andrew Ayton and Virginia Davis, 'Ecclesiastical Wealth in England in 1086', *Studies in Church History*, 24 (1987), 47–60; Christopher Holdsworth, 'The Church at Domesday', *Domesday Essays*, ed. Christopher Holdsworth (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986), 51–64.

[9] Stephanie Mooers Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (2000), 49–70, p. 49; Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 65, 85–6; for episcopal biography as a genre see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 19–48; for the differences between Episcopal Lives and diocesan histories, or *Gesta episcoporum*, see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 13–4.

the bishops of Edward the Confessor or of William the Conqueror's reign tend to inspire attempts at canonisation, or the kind of hagiographical treatment which the tenth-century Benedictine reformers received, with the notable exception of Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062–1095).[10]

It is possible that the disruption of the Norman Conquest meant that no group of young clerical biographers emerged in the years after 1066 to write the Lives of the last generation of Anglo-Saxon and the first generation of Anglo-Norman bishops.[11] Even during the reign of Edward the Confessor, however, an apparent dearth of local authors is suggested by the presence in England of a group of Flemish hagiographers in the 1050s and 1060s, including Goscelin and Folcard of St Bertin and Hermann of Flanders.[12]

Even as significant a figure in the history of the eleventh-century church as Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury was the subject of no contemporary biography, though a *Vita Lanfranci* was composed at the monastery of Bec c.1140, some fifty years after the archbishop's death.[13] The Life of Lanfranc's friend and disciple, Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1076–1108), was also written at Bec between 1114 and 1124.[14] Both men were thus commemorated due to their specific connection to the abbey of Notre-Dame at Bec, rather than as part of a wider tradition of Anglo-Norman episcopal biography, and it is telling that

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[10] Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), Chapter 10.
[11] For this argument see Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 8.
[12] Elisabeth van Houts, 'Historical Writing', *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 103–22, pp. 109–10.
[13] Margaret Gibson, 'The *Vita Lanfranci*', *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI nel centenario della morte (1089–1989)*, ed. Giulio d'Onofrio (Rome: Herder, 1993), 661–715, pp. 661–2.
[14] *The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), p. 4.

neither Life was written in England, though both their subjects presided over English dioceses.

It is also possible that further episcopal *vitae* were produced in eleventh-century England but were written in Old English and thus less likely to survive than texts written in Latin. We have at least one example of this phenomenon, in the shape of William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*, a Latin rendering of a now lost vernacular Life of Wulfstan of Worcester by Wulfstan's chaplain Coleman (d. 1113).[15] That the complete text of the Latin *Vita Wulfstani* itself survives in only one manuscript is a reminder of how easily the transmission of such texts could be interrupted.[16] Moreover, Wulfstan, Lanfranc and Gundulf were all monks, and presided over monastic cathedral chapters. There is no evidence that any of William I's secular bishops was the subject of an episcopal *vita*.[17]

The monastic historians of the twelfth century were also less likely to record the activities of secular prelates than those of monks, and when they did, they often disapproved.[18] In his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, characterised by Julia Barrow as 'an omnibus *Gesta Episcoporum* for the whole English church',[19] William of Malmesbury depicted Maurice of London (1085–1107) as lecherous, Herfast of Elmham/Thetford (1070–1084) as uneducated and uncouth, Hermann of Ramsbury/Sherborne (1045–1078) as avaricious, and Robert of

[15] William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives: Lives of Ss Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. xv–xvii.
[16] William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives*, pp. 3–6.
[17] A partial exception is the purported 'autobiography' of Bishop Giso of Wells (1061–1088), published in *Ecclesiastical Documents: viz. I. A brief history of the bishoprick of Somerset from its foundation to the year 1174. II. Charters from the library of Dr. Cox Macro*, ed. Joseph Hunter (London: Printed for the Camden Society, by J. B. Nichols and son, 1840); for more on Giso's 'autobiography', see below, pp. 149, 268.
[18] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 85
[19] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 14, n. 40.

Chester/Coventry (1085–1117) as violent, rapacious, lazy and deceitful.[20] Orderic Vitalis, though generally more sympathetic than William to the involvement of churchmen in the affairs of government, nevertheless worried in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* that secular clerics were increasingly being advanced at the expense of monks.[21] Even Henry of Huntingdon, himself a secular canon, warned against the spiritual perils of excessive worldliness in clerics.[22]

That is not to say that monastic chroniclers were universally antipathetic to bishops who made their careers in royal service. Osmund of Salisbury (1078–1099) appears fairly frequently in the *History of the Church of Abingdon* and is presented by its author as a conscientious bishop, who balanced ecclesiastical duties, like consecrating abbots and dedicating chapels, with worldly obligations, such as escorting the young Prince Henry to Abingdon for the Christmas feast in 1084.[23] The 'D' version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contains unique details about the career of Archbishop Ealdred of York (1060–1069) — characterised by Barlow as 'the closest to a "prince-bishop" that England could produce'[24] — and was probably compiled by someone in the archbishop's *familia*.[25] Symeon of Durham praised Walcher, the Lotharingian incumbent of

[20] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 230–1, 238–41, 286–7, 468–71.
[21] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980), VI, pp. 320–1.
[22] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 586–9.
[23] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. and trans. John Hudson, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002–2007), II, pp. 16–9. 22–5, 40–3, 176–7.
[24] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 86.
[25] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), pp. 109, 129–35; for Ealdred see also Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York* (York: St Anthony's Press, 1970), pp. 23–9.

the northern see from 1071 to 1080, though he felt bound to note that the bishop's mode of life resembled that of a monk rather than a clerk.[26]

Given the monastic bent of so many of the narrative sources, the documentary survivals from the Conqueror's reign serve as an important complement to the chronicles in assessing the character and activities of the early Anglo-Norman episcopate. The corpus of extant documents datable to the later eleventh century is uneven, however, in terms of its geographical distribution and the types of documents which survive, and it is virtually impossible to estimate how many may have been lost. Moreover, surviving episcopal *acta* are extremely rare for the period before 1100 and, as Julia Barrow has argued, those which do exist are characterised by a very limited range of dispositive clauses and functions.[27]

The relative dearth of episcopal *acta*, diocesan histories, and bishops' Lives from post-Conquest England means that historians of the early Anglo-Norman episcopate have access to none of the major categories of source material which have underpinned much of the scholarship on French and German bishops.[28] Other types of documentary evidence do exist for eleventh-century England, however, which are potentially revealing about the everyday political and administrative activities of contemporary bishops. Royal writs and diplomas often feature bishops among their addressees and witness lists, and

[26] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 104–5.
[27] Julia Barrow, 'From the Lease to the Certificate: The Evolution of Episcopal Acts in England and Wales c. 700–c.1250', *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250/ La diplomatique épiscopale avant 1250*, ed. C. Haidacher and W. Köfler (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv, 1995), 529–42, p. 529.
[28] For more on the Continental historiography, see below, pp. 21–2, 251–54.

are increasingly accessible to scholars, thanks to the British Academy and Royal Historical Society's *Anglo-Saxon Charters* publishing project, David Bates' edition of the *acta* of William I, and the ongoing online project, headed by Richard Sharpe, which aims to edit all of the surviving charters of William II and Henry I.[29]

The letter collection of Archbishop Lanfranc too, though carefully curated, contains important contemporary insights into how William I's bishops related to one another, and to the king, especially in moments of crisis.[30] The collection survives in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A VII, along with the collected correspondence of Archbishop Anselm, which was probably copied directly from unbound letters. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson thought it possible that Lanfranc's letters were also copied from unbound exemplars in the years immediately following the archbishop's death.[31]

Perhaps most significantly, the group of texts associated with the Domesday survey of 1086 provides a wealth of information to historians of the eleventh-century English episcopate, of a kind unparalleled in contemporary Western Europe. In recent years, major research projects focusing on Great and Little Domesday Book have made an abundance of Domesday data increasingly accessible and searchable through the use of online databases.[32] This thesis also

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[29] For pre-Conquest royal *acta* see *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. E. Harmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952); *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1973–); for the *acta* of William I, see *'Regesta Regum Anglo–Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); for the *acta* of William II and Henry I, see 'Charters of William II and Henry I Project', <http://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com> (Accessed 27.10.17).

[30] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[31] *Letters of Lanfranc*, p. 15.

[32] For a searchable prosopographical Domesday database see *PASE Domesday*,

makes particular use of the evidence of Exon Domesday Book, newly digitised, edited and translated as part of the AHRC-funded project, 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England'.

Among the surviving texts associated with the survey of 1086, Exon had previously been comparatively neglected. The text had been edited only once, by Henry Ellis in 1816, and was unavailable in translation.[33] Since 2014, however, the Exon Domesday Project team have conducted a much more thorough investigation into the production, complicated make-up, and historical context of Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3500 than had hitherto been undertaken, and also made material relating to Exon more accessible to Domesday scholars, including an online text, translation, digital facsimile and full palaeographical and codicological description.[34] Access to these resources has facilitated a significant portion of the research which underpins this thesis.

The historiographical background

The bishops of William I's reign have not been neglected in the existing historiography of the Norman Conquest or the English church, though they have tended to receive less scholarly attention than their twelfth-century successors. The fundamental studies of the eleventh-century church remain Frank Barlow's

<http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 27.10.17); see also 'Hull Domesday Project', <http://www.domesdaybook.net/ahrc-project> (Accessed 27.10.17).

[33] *Libri Censualis, vocati Domesday Book, Additamenta ex Codic. Antiquiss. Exon Domesday; Inquisitio Eliensis; Liber Winton; Boldon Book*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Record Commission, 1816).

[34] 'Texts', 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 27.10.17).

The English Church, 1000–1066: A Constitutional History and *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church*, supplemented more recently by H. R. Loyn's *The English Church, 940–1154*.[35] Loyn's 1987 article, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', also offered a more specific study of the Conqueror's bishops, and speculated, with varying degrees of confidence, about the regions over which particular bishops might have presided as Domesday circuit commissioners.[36]

Studies of individual prelates in office between 1066 and 1087 include Margaret Gibson's *Lanfranc of Bec* and H. E. J. Cowdrey's *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop*, Julia Barrow's 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's Reorganisation of the Church of Hereford, 1079–1095', W. M. Aird's 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', Simon Keynes' 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', David Bates' *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln*, Emma Mason's *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c.1008–1095*, and Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis' 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern'.[37] These offer detailed analyses of the

[35] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*; *The English Church, 1066–1154*; Loyn, *The English Church, 940–1154*.
[36] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', pp. 228–30.
[37] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's Reorganisation of the Church of Hereford, 1079–1095', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (1995), 29–49; W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', *Anglo-Norman Durham,* ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 283–97; Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 203–72; David Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067–1092* (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Library, 1992); Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c.1008–1095* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2016), 207–43.

lives and careers of their subjects, but none are designed to evaluate the political characteristics or activities of the mid-eleventh-century episcopate as a group.

Both Stephanie Mooers Christelow and Everett U. Crosby have dealt with the subject of episcopal appointments under the Anglo-Norman kings.[38] Christelow examined the career path that saw so many men serve first as royal chancellors and then as bishops, while Crosby highlighted the networks of patronage and nepotism which characterised so much of the political landscape of England and Normandy between 1066 and 1216. Christelow's article, however, while detailed, was necessarily brief in its coverage of each individual reign, while Crosby dealt with the Conqueror's bishops in a more cursory fashion than those who held office after 1100, his primary aim being to produce 'a study of the twelfth-century episcopate in England and Normandy'.[39] Also of enduring importance for the history of the early-twelfth-century episcopate is Martin Brett's *The English Church Under Henry I*, while the bishops of the late Anglo-Saxon period are the subject of Mary Frances Giandrea's *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*.[40]

The study of internal diocesan administration is also fuller for the twelfth century than for the eleventh, owing in large part to the greater abundance of surviving sources for the period after 1100. The key work on

[38] Stephanie Mooers Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (2000), 49–69; Everett U. Crosby *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[39] Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, p. 1.
[40] Martin Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*.

twelfth-century episcopal administration and documentary production remains C. R. Cheney's study of *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100–1250*.[41] Cheney drew on the evidence of charter witness lists to lay out the types of official and unofficial personnel found in bishops' households and chanceries, and outlined some of the key diplomatic characteristics of documents produced under episcopal auspices.

Since the publication of *English Bishops' Chanceries*, its general overview has been supplemented by detailed diplomatic analysis of the charter output of individual dioceses in the British Academy's *English Episcopal Acta* series, which Cheney himself helped to instigate, and two volumes of which he co-edited.[42] For the pre-Conquest period, surviving episcopal charters are being edited alongside monastic survivals in another major British Academy and Royal Historical Society series of *Anglo-Saxon Charters*.[43] For the reign of William I, however, we are hampered in our understanding of diocesan administration by a striking hiatus in the production of episcopal charters between the Conquest and the turn of the twelfth century, and especially during the period 1066–1086. This gap in the charter record was addressed by Julia Barrow in her 1995 article 'From the Lease to the Certificate: The Evolution of

[41] C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100–1250* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950).
[42] *English Episcopal Acta* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980–); specifically *English Episcopal Acta* II: *Canterbury 1162–1190,* ed. C. R. Cheney and Bridgett E. A. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); *English Episcopal Acta* III: *Canterbury 1193–1205,* ed. C. R. Cheney and E. John (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[43] *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1973–).

Episcopal Acts in England and Wales c.700–c.1250', and again in more detail in 'What Happened to Ecclesiastical Charters in England 1066–c.1100?'.[44]

In spite of the absence of evidence from episcopal *acta*, however, the Conqueror's reign was evidently an important period in the evolution of diocesan structures. In his study of 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest' Christopher Brooke noted that, whereas no archdeacon can be confidently identified by name for the period 900–1066, 'by the death of Lanfranc in 1089 we have some evidence of an archdeacon in almost every diocese' and that territorial archdeaconries had been established at Lincoln by 1092.[45] John Blair, meanwhile, highlighted 'the movement of sees, the reform of abbeys, and the foundation of alien priories' after 1066 as factors which all served to put pressure on older institutional forms, and noted the large number of minster churches which were annexed to cathedral chapters as prebends for the canons, especially at Salisbury and Lincoln.[46]

Two recent monographs on the secular clergy below the rank of bishop, by Hugh Thomas and Julia Barrow respectively, have also served to illuminate the lives and careers of this important and often neglected group. Although their subject matter is ostensibly similar, the two works differ in their aims and approaches. *The Secular Clergy in England* is primarily concerned with the contribution that English clergy made to contemporary intellectual culture and

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[44] Barrow, 'From the Lease to the Certificate', p. 529; Julia Barrow, 'What Happened to Ecclesiastical Charters in England 1066–c.1100?', *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 229–48.

[45] Christopher Brooke, 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1–19, p. 2.

[46] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 364.

the part they played in the twelfth-century renaissance, while *The Clergy in the Medieval World* is a wider survey of North-West Europe, which emphasises the socio-economic status of the medieval clergy, their education, family connections, careers, and the practical duties they performed.[47]

Much of Barrow's earlier work also took a comparative approach to the study of cathedral organisation and personnel, illuminating similarities and differences in, for example, the recruitment and patronage of canons in England and Germany.[48] In general, however, the role of bishops in lay administration has been studied more extensively in German than in English scholarship. A long historiographical tradition exists which has established, revised and ultimately questioned the idea of an Ottonian and Salian *Reichskirchensystem* or 'imperial church system', investigating the administrative structures which underpinned it in greater detail than has tended to be devoted to comparable institutions in England.[49]

On the Norman episcopate in the long eleventh century, the key work is Richard Allen's 2009 doctoral thesis, 'The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110',

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[47] Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*.

[48] Julia Barrow, 'Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends: A Comparison of Twelfth-Century German and English Practice', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), 536–64; Julia Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38.

[49] For a fuller discussion of the historiography of the *Reichskirchensystem* see Chapter 5 below, pp. 249–52. Key works include Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, ii. Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch- salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 16/II (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966); Leopold Auer, 'Der Kriegdienst der Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen des Institus für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 79 (1971), 316–407; O. Köhler, 'Das ottonische Reichskirchensystem. Ein Forschungsbericht', *Adel und Kirche. Festschrift für Gerd Tellenbach,* ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 141–204; L. Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 229 (Wien: R. Rohrer, 1954).

which provided an account of the career of each individual bishop of a Norman diocese in this period, about whom anything is known, and included an edition of Norman episcopal *acta*, many of which were previously unpublished.[50] Allen's is the fullest study of the careers of the Norman bishops of the eleventh century, but he drew upon earlier work by David Spear, Mathieu Arnoux, Pierre Bouet and François Neveux.[51] Other work on the organisation of French cathedrals in the eleventh and twelfth centuries includes case studies of individual chapters, such as Louis Amiet's *Essai sur l'organisation du chapitre cathédral de Chartres* and more recent studies of Tournai and Reims by Jacques Pycke and Patrick Demouy, and Jean Becquet's wider survey of 'Le réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles'.[52]

The historiography of the Domesday survey, the products of which form such an important source for this thesis, is vast. It is also currently in a state of flux. The publication of Sally Harvey's 2014 monograph, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, heralded something of a 'social turn' in Domesday studies, focusing as it did on the wider world in which the survey occurred, before working

[50] Richard Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, October 2009).
[51] David Spear, 'The Norman empire and the secular clergy, 1066–1204', *Journal of British Studies,* 21 (1982), 1–10; David Spear, 'L'administration épiscopale normande: archidiacres et dignitaires des chapitres', *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle,* ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1995) 81–102; David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2006); *Des clercs au service de la réforme: Etudes et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, ed. Mathieu Arnoux (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).
[52] Louis Amiet, *Essai sur l'organisation du chapitre cathédral de Chartres du XIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Chartres: F. Lainé, 1922); Patrick Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale: les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XI e et XII e siècles* (Langres: D. Guéniot, 2005); Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 1986); Jean Becquet, 'Le réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Année 1975* (1977) 31–41.

inwards to the texts it produced.[53] Meanwhile, a forthcoming monograph co-authored by members of the Exon Domesday Project team is set to challenge the view of David Roffe, that Great Domesday Book was never the intended outcome of the survey commissioned by the Conqueror at Christmas 1085, and was only in fact written up much later, in the reign of William Rufus.[54] This view has been widely accepted for the past seventeen years but the work of the Exon Domesday Project team will show that a centralised and consolidated record of the survey was intended from its very inception, even if the final form of Great Domesday Book was only worked out when its main scribe began writing late in the summer of 1086.[55]

These, and other findings to emerge from the project, offer a fresh perspective on the texts associated with the survey, and have served to inform some of the characterisations of episcopal power and agency offered in this thesis, especially in Chapters 3 and 4. While developments in the Domesday scholarship have formed an important background to my research, however, I have tried to avoid entanglement in some of the more intractable and longstanding debates about the overall purpose of the survey and the book.[56] Moreover, I have sought to follow the example of Harvey and to work inwards, from the world outside Domesday towards the texts themselves, so that the

[53] Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), especially Chapters 1–3.
[54] David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), especially Chapter 9.
[55] Stephen Baxter, Julia Crick, Chris Lewis and Frank Thorn, *Making Domesday: The Conqueror's Survey in Context*, Studies in Exon Domesday II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
[56] For the latest survey of the historiography of Domesday, see Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 2.

evidence of Exon and Great Domesday Book may be viewed within a wider context of ecclesiastical record keeping and clerical administrative culture.

The institutional context and structure of the thesis

The decades after the Norman Conquest were a time of tremendous political and administrative upheaval, and an important period of transition in terms of the structure of the English church. They saw the movement and combination of a number of sees, conflicts over jurisdiction between bishops and great Benedictine houses, the primacy dispute between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the internal reorganisation of several cathedral chapters, the proliferation of territorial archdeaconries, the revival of conciliar activity in England, and an incremental increase in the level of papal involvement in the affairs of the English church, as papal government itself expanded. It was against the background of these major structural changes that the political activities of William I's bishops occurred, and this section briefly outlines the institutional context for those activities, as well as the structure of this thesis.

The transfer of sees which occurred in the mid-eleventh century did not begin with the Norman Conquest. In 1050 Bishop Leofric of Crediton and St Germans had been permitted by Edward the Confessor to amalgamate the dioceses of Devon and Cornwall and move the seat of the new bishopric to the monastery of St Peter's, Exeter, which became the new cathedral.[57] The process accelerated after 1070. During the next decade the bishoprics of Ramsbury and

[57] *English Episcopal Acta* XI: *Exeter, 1046–1184,* ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xxix.

Sherborne were combined and the see moved to Old Sarum, the see of Dorchester-on-Thames was transferred to Lincoln, that of Selsey to Chichester, Elmham to Thetford (and later to Norwich), and Lichfield to Chester (and later to Coventry).[58] Altogether there were seventeen dioceses at the time of Edward the Confessor's accession in 1042 and fifteen by the death of William I in 1087.[59] The table below summarizes the transfers and combinations which occurred.

Table 1: English dioceses 1042–1087

Diocese/s in 1042	*Diocese in 1087*	*Later (if applicable)*
Canterbury	Canterbury	
Crediton	Exeter	
St Germans		
Dorchester	Lincoln	Lincoln
		Ely (1109)
Durham	Durham	
Elmham	Thetford	Norwich (c.1095)
Hereford	Hereford	
Lichfield	Chester	Coventry (1087 × 1102)
London	London	
Ramsbury	Salisbury	
Sherborne		
Rochester	Rochester	
Selsey	Chichester	
Wells	Wells	Bath (1090)
Winchester	Winchester	
Worcester	Worcester	
York	York	

With the movement of so many sees, some of which involved bishops co-opting existing churches to serve as new cathedrals, it is perhaps not surprising that a

[58] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 47–8.
[59] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 208, and map at p. 161.

number of prelates found themselves in conflict with the heads of local monasteries. Bishop Herfast of Elmham/Thetford tried and failed establish the abbey of Bury St Edmunds as his episcopal seat.[60] The attempt by Hermann of Ramsbury to move his see to Malmesbury was successfully resisted by the monks of Malmesbury Abbey.[61] Later, in the reign of William II, Robert de Limesey successfully moved his see from Chester to Coventry, but William of Malmesbury suggested he was widely hated and resisted by the monks of Coventry.[62]

Even in dioceses where the location of the see did not change, the composition of the cathedral chapter sometimes did. William of St Calais introduced monks into the cathedral chapter at Durham, which had previously been staffed by secular canons.[63] Gundulf did the same at Rochester.[64] Walkelin initially planned to replace the monks of Winchester cathedral with secular canons, though he seems to have abandoned the plan soon after Lanfranc came to England.[65] Ealdred, Leofric and Giso, all apparently influenced by their Lotharingian training or connections, made attempts to introduce a communal

[60] Sarah Foot, 'Internal and External Audiences: Reflections on the Anglo-Saxon Archive of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in Suffolk', *Haskins Society Journal*, 24 (2013), 163–93, pp. 172–3.
[61] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 82.
[62] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 230–1, 238–41, 286–7, 468–71.
[63] Meryl Foster, 'Custodians of St Cuthbert: The Durham Monks' View of their Predecessors, 1083–c.1200', *Anglo-Norman Durham*, 53–66.
[64] For the establishment of monks at Rochester, and parallels with Durham, see Martin Brett, 'The Church at Rochester, 604–1185', *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral, 604-1994*, ed. Nigel Yates, with Paul A. Welsby (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), 1–28, pp. 15–7.
[65] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England, 940–1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1963), p. 130.

life in their cathedral chapters under a Rule for secular canons, with varying degrees of success.[66]

Meanwhile, the primacy dispute between Canterbury and York began in the 1070s, with the revival of church councils in England under Archbishop Lanfranc, and continued throughout subsequent decades and into the twelfth century.[67] On the whole, the quarrel seems to have had a fairly limited impact on the political and administrative activities of bishops in this period. Barlow characterised it as something of an embarrassment and a distraction for kings and popes alike.[68] Nevertheless the dispute evidently stirred up strong passions in the cathedral chapters at Canterbury and York. It was protracted, and at times acrimonious, and produced forceful polemics on both sides.[69]

At least one, and possibly two of William I's bishops were murdered.[70] Five were canonically deposed or otherwise removed from office.[71] The king's own brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, was imprisoned for most of the 1080s and Stigand, the former archbishop of Canterbury, also died in captivity.[72] Yet in spite of the turbulence of the period, the bishops of the Conqueror's reign

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[66] Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Anglo–Norman Durham,* ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 25–39, pp. 33–4.

[67] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 31–3, 39–46; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 87–103.

[68] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 41–2.

[69] For opposing contemporary views of the dispute by Eadmer and Hugh the Chanter, see *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia: et opuscula duo de vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884), pp. 10–12; *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, revised by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 4–13.

[70] For the murder of Bishop Walcher of Durham, see Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 182–9; for the possible murder of Bishop Walter of Hereford, by a seamstress whom he tried to rape, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 456–7.

[71] For the removals of the 1070s, see Chapter 1, below.

[72] Craig M. Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders in Anglo-Norman England: 1066–1154', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 12 (2014), 51–80, p. 62; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 48–9.

remained active and engaged in ecclesiastical and secular projects, within and without their dioceses.

How they achieved this forms the subject of this thesis, which consists of five chapters. The first two deal with aspects of the administrative world in which Domesday occurred and consider the place of bishops within it. Chapter 1 examines the relationship between the early Anglo-Norman episcopate and the royal chapel. It considers the background of William I's bishops and the circumstances of their appointments, and reconsiders the series of depositions of English bishops which occurred in the early 1070s, highlighting the contrast between a pre-Conquest episcopate rooted in provincial elite society and a group of Anglo-Norman bishops who were dependent for their position almost solely on the king.

Drawing on Julia Barrow's work on clergy in Great Domesday Book in *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*,[73] it analyses every Domesday entry featuring property held by named or unnamed priests, deacons and other clergy. It considers the composition of the Conqueror's chapel and argues that it was a cosmopolitan and heterogeneous institution sustained by interlocking circles of patronage, in which some, but not all, individuals were marked out for future promotion. Finally, it suggests that, while the reign of William I witnessed an increased reliance on the royal chapel as a forum for recruiting bishops, the long-term decline in the fortunes of English minster churches, described by John Blair in *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, ultimately

[73] Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 2013).

contributed to the eclipse of the chapel as the preeminent route to an episcopal appointment.[74]

Chapter 2 moves from the chapel to the shires, considering the role of bishops in local government after 1066, and how they balanced it against their duties in the royal *curia*. It examines the address clauses of all of William I's surviving writs — argued by Stephen Marritt to be 'a more secure and valuable resource' than charter witness lists for the study of post-Conquest local government[75]— and concludes that they reveal an episcopate which played an active role in presiding over the shire court, long after the disappearance of territorial earldoms. It highlights regional variations in the persistence of older diplomatic forms and in the use of Old English as an administrative language, and personal variations in the functions that bishops were expected to perform. It then considers whether the changing distribution of episcopal estates over the course of the Conqueror's reign, as revealed by the *PASE Domesday* database, offers any clues as to how his bishops managed to pivot between their local and national obligations.

Chapters 1 and 2 thus set out the context of episcopal involvement in routine elements of royal government in mid-eleventh-century England, both at the centre and in the localities, before Chapters 3 and 4 turn to consider the role of bishops in one of medieval government's most extraordinary manifestations: the Domesday survey. Chapter 3 focuses on the text of Exon Fiefs — that is to

[74] For the pressures on minsters c.850–1100, see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Chapter 6.
[75] Stephen Marritt, 'The Bishops of King Stephen's Reign', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, November 2002), p. 5 and Chapter 8.

say, on the partially surviving draft version of the survey for the five south-western counties — arguing that subtle irregularities in the form and content of entries may reveal something of the processes of collecting and processing information in the shires. It compares the formulaic and linguistic characteristics of all the Exon entries for the lands of bishops on the one hand, and sheriffs (as the archetypal figures of provincial royal government) on the other, with a randomly selected sample of entries for other tenants-in-chief as a control.

It highlights features such as breaks in the hundredal order of entries, variations in the frequency of contemporary scribal corrections to the text, choices between specific and rounded figures for the number of livestock recorded on a given estate, and the appearance of otherwise strange or non-standard information, especially in entries for manors with a complex tenurial history. Such features, it argues, may constitute evidence of the use of pre-existing documentary material by the scribes in the Exon writing office, in addition to the regular hundredal returns produced specifically as part of the survey. Moreover, it notes the greater regularity of the entries for sheriffs' holdings than those of bishops, and argues that this is because institutions with an established culture of record keeping in 1086 were more likely to draw on those earlier records when making their returns to the Domesday commissioners, thus increasing the likelihood of non-standard information finding its way into the accounts of their fiefs.

Chapter 4 focuses on the process by which the information contained in Exon Domesday and the other circuit returns was substantially rearranged and compressed into Great Domesday Book, mostly by a single scribe. It highlights

the importance of a carefully planned set of chapter lists and rubrics for the successful completion of such a complex editing process, and notes that these rubrics tend to have been afforded less significance in the historiography of Domesday than their importance in its production warrants. Indeed, as cited by J. C. Holt, it is largely thanks to the placement of the rubrics that Great Domesday Book itself is still easier and more intuitive for the modern reader to follow than any of the printed editions of the text.[76]

Moreover, by comparing the headings in Exon Domesday with those in Great Domesday Book, Chapter 4 draws some tentative conclusions about the priorities and editorial method of the Great Domesday scribe, especially as pertains to the recording of episcopal holdings. It notes that no rigid hierarchy is observed in the order in which prelates appear, beyond the placement of ecclesiastics before laymen, but that estates which bishops had acquired in a personal capacity as royal clerks were carefully differentiated from diocesan property by being recorded under the holder's personal name rather than his diocesan style. In Exon, it reveals a potential episcopal connection on the part of Scribe Alpha, who wrote a disproportionately high number of headings and entries for ecclesiastical fiefs, and also an apparent interest in St Peter on the part of the scribes responsible for writing the rubrics (or their supervisor).

Finally, Chapter 5 sets the patronage of royal chaplains, and the non-noble background of William's bishops, in a wider Continental context. In particular, it engages with the debate in the German historiography of the tenth- and eleventh-century episcopate over the existence, or otherwise, of an

[76] J. C. Holt, '1086', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 41–64, p. 51.

Ottonian and Salian *Reichskirchensystem*. Reacting to a number of specific criticisms of the model which were posed by Timothy Reuter in his 1982 article 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', Chapter 5 suggests that the notion of a 'church system' might actually be as applicable to post-Conquest England as to the German Empire under the Ottonians and Salians.[77]

It argues that William I's early experiences of governing in Normandy informed a deliberate episcopal policy which he trialled in the duchy in the 1050s and 1060s and then implemented more systematically in England after 1070. It highlights the increased importance of bishops in shire assemblies after the decline of the pre-Conquest territorial earldoms and emphasises that, unlike their counterparts in Normandy and the Empire, the bishops William appointed to English dioceses were not drawn from aristocratic backgrounds and were thus less beholden to networks of familial patronage which did not depend on the king. In this respect, a striking contrast is offered between William's ability to impose his own competent and loyal men on vacant dioceses after 1070, and the failed attempt of his predecessor, Edward the Confessor, to adopt a similar policy in the 1040s and early 1050s.[78] The unique circumstances of the post-Conquest period in England gave William an unprecedented free hand in the appointment of his prelates, which, it is argued here, he used to full and sometimes radical effect.

[77] Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 33 (1982), 347–74.
[78] Mary Frances Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73.

Chapter 1: Episcopal Recruitment and the Royal Chapel

The reign of William I was a tumultuous period in the history of the English episcopate, one which witnessed the deposition of a series of English prelates, and their replacement by men from the Continent. It was also during the decades after the Conquest that the already established practice of appointing royal chaplains to bishoprics reached its apogee. The promotion of royal priests to bishoprics was not a new phenomenon. Such appointments had been made throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.[1] The Conqueror, however, employed this strategy for recruiting competent and trusted servants to the episcopal bench more thoroughly than any of his predecessors. The royal chapel in the post-Conquest period served as a reservoir of talent from which the king drew chancellors, bishops and sometimes abbots. Prior service in the chapel ensured that incumbents in these offices had the financial, administrative and legal experience and expertise that William required of them. To serve as a royal chaplain in the late eleventh century was to belong to a cross-channel elite, with an expectation of rich remuneration and the opening up of avenues to power for men whose birth had not always guaranteed it.[2]

This chapter considers the factors which motivated the Conqueror's episcopal appointments and the role played by the royal chapel in the process of recruitment. The first section focuses on the reshaping of the English episcopate which occurred in the 1070s. It revisits the series of depositions,

[1] Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), 185–222, p. 191.
[2] Stephanie Mooers Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (2000), 49–69, p. 51.

which have tended to be analysed for evidence of the strength or weakness of William's commitment to ecclesiastical reform, or viewed as part of a deliberate policy to Normanise the episcopate,[3] and asks why William deposed the men he did, how he selected their replacements, and whether an overarching plan can be detected in the shape of the episcopate he wished to create.

The rest of the chapter then turns to the royal chapel. It asks whether the post-Conquest period saw any fundamental changes in the relationship between the chapel and the episcopate, or simply an intensification of existing practice. Using the evidence of clerical holdings in Domesday Book and, to a lesser extent, charter attestations, it considers who William's chaplains were, what patronage they received, what happened to those who did not become bishops, and to the personal landholdings of those who did. Finally it suggests that the decline in traditional forms of patronage such as the headship of royal minsters may have significantly affected the pre-eminence of the royal chapel as a route to an Anglo-Norman bishopric.

[3] See below, pp. 36–7.

Who were William's bishops?

The character of the late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman episcopate was, in general, rather different from those of England's Continental neighbours, and especially from the Empire. Papal oversight sometimes affected English bishops, such as the attempt by Pope Nicholas II to depose Ealdred for pluralism when the archbishop visited Rome in 1061 with Earl Tostig.[4] In general, though, kings in England 'took their powers to appoint bishops almost for granted'.[5] The men they appointed came less frequently from seigneurial families than did their Continental counterparts, who were often great magnates in their own right, with independent power drawn from hereditary lands.[6] With the exception of Osbern fitzOsbern, none of William I's bishops was truly aristocratic. The episcopate that the Conqueror inherited was also one which still contained much stronger monastic elements than was the norm in Western Christendom, albeit ones which had been tempered by Continental influences during the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor.[7] The bishops

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[4] *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1992), pp. 52–7; on this visit to Rome see also 'The Death of Burgheard Son of Ælfgar and its Context', *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages, Essays in Honour of Jinty Nelson*, ed. Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 266–84, pp. 278–82; on wider contacts between England and Rome from the sixth to the eleventh century, see *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

[5] Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 262.

[6] Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 281; Christelow, 'Chancellors', p. 51. Timothy Reuter, '*Episcopi cum sua militia*: The Prelate as Warrior in the Early Staufer Era', *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 79–94, especially p. 90.

[7] Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066: A Constitutional History* (London: Longman, 1963), pp. 64–5; For more on the relationship between the English episcopate and the Continent in the eleventh century see Chapter 5 below.

themselves were predominantly, though by no means exclusively, native born, comprising eleven Englishmen, three Lotharingians, Hermann of Ramsbury (1045–1078), Walter of Hereford (1060–1079) and Giso of Wells (1061–1088), and the Norman William of London (1051–1075). Leofric of Exeter (1046–1072) was also educated in Lotharingia, though probably born in Cornwall.[8]

In the early years of his reign, the new king seemed content to govern largely within the ecclesiastical and secular administrative frameworks he had inherited and to leave native bishops and abbots in post. A crisis was reached in 1070, however, when three papal legates came to England at Easter. According to Orderic Vitalis, the legates, Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and cardinal priests John and Peter, came at the king's behest, rather than being sent by Pope Alexander II on his own initiative.[9] Their arrival initiated a series of church councils, beginning in Winchester at Easter, in the course of which five English bishops and a number of abbots were deposed.

The reshaping of the English episcopate in the months and years following the 1070 Council of Winchester has received a good deal of historiographical attention. Frank Barlow dealt with the depositions in *The English Church, 1000–1066* and provided a summary of the origins and prior career of each of William's new appointments in *The English Church, 1066–1154*.[10] H. R. Loyn devoted a chapter of *The English Church, 940–1154* to this

[8] For more on Leofric's training see below, p. 248.
[9] For the balance between royal and papal initiative in 1070 see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance Following the Battle of Hastings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 20 (1969), 225–42, p. 229.
[10] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066,* pp. 112–5; Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 57–65.

'dramatic general turning point in ecclesiastical affairs in England',[11] and the significance of 1070 has also been discussed, among others, by H. E. J. Cowdrey, David Bates, and Ann Williams.[12]

The purge has often been seen in terms of church reform. Loyn viewed the overhaul of the upper echelons of the English ecclesiastical establishment as a natural, if belated, consequence of a Conquest which had been achieved with the support of the reforming elements within the papal curia and argued that the promulgation of legal and canonical reforms contributed to a sense of group solidarity among William's bishops during the later years of his reign.[13] Cowdrey questioned whether the reforming impetus behind the legatine involvement in the events of 1070 came from the papacy or the king but did not doubt that reform was a central part of the agenda.[14] Barlow noted that the depositions were 'dictated in part by political motives',[15] but nevertheless assessed the calibre of the king's new appointments from a distinctly moral and religious standpoint, describing Thomas of Bayeux's reputation for 'chastity and integrity'[16] and Herfast's for being 'badly educated for his office, and immoral'.[17] Stephanie Mooers Christelow described William 'deposing unreformed prelates' to make way for his own chaplains.[18]

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[11] H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), Chapter 4.
[12] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc, the Papacy, and Canterbury', *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI nel centenario della morte (1089-1989)*, ed. Giulio d'Onofrio (Rome: Herder, 1993), 439–500, pp. 449–56; David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 331–6; Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 45–7.
[13] Loyn, *English Church, 940–1154*, p. 68; H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1987), 223–35, p. 224.
[14] Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc, the Papacy, and Canterbury', p. 456
[15] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 115.
[16] Barlow, *English Church, 1066*–1154, p. 61.
[17] Barlow, *English Church, 1066*–1154, p. 62.
[18] Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', p. 59.

An alternative interpretation of the depositions, as being motivated almost entirely by political concerns, has tended to stress their timing, immediately after the Harrying of the North, and the fact that the Conqueror seemed determined to replace Englishmen with foreigners.[19] The lack of a solid canonical case against all of those deposed has also been highlighted, with Barlow noting that 'no one principle or common charge justified the several removals, and Pope Alexander II was troubled by the action taken'.[20] This chapter does not attempt to contribute to the debate over how far the late Anglo-Saxon church deserves to be rehabilitated from accusations of corruption and decay by Anglo-Norman chroniclers, or to cast doubt upon the commitment to reform of certain key figures in the post-Conquest period, especially Archbishop Lanfranc.[21] It is, however, worth re-examining the sometimes obscure backgrounds of the men who were deposed, to see whether they possessed any common characteristics, beyond their shared Englishness, which might have motivated the king to replace these, but not all, English prelates.

Of the five English bishops who were removed from their sees in the 1070s, by far the best known and most studied is Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Winchester, which two sees he held in plurality. Stigand is believed to

[19] See, for example, Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 46.
[20] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 114.
[21] Cases for the vitality of the late Anglo-Saxon church have been made in, for example, Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); 'Introduction', *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005). For a view of Lanfranc as a traditional but conscientious prelate in a Carolingian mould see Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), especially pp. 191–2. A forthcoming article by Mark Philpott promises to offer an alternative view of Lanfranc as a more dynamic reformer.

have come from a wealthy Anglo-Scandinavian family with significant landed interests in Norfolk, Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire.[22] His sister held thirty-two acres in Norwich at the time of Domesday, and he and his brother Æthelmær held the East Anglian see of Elmham in succession from 1043 and 1047 respectively.[23] Stigand first appears in royal service during the reign of Cnut, by whom he was granted a church at 'Assandun' in Essex in 1020. Thereafter he occasionally appears as a witness to royal charters, before being promoted to Elmham in 1043, translated to Winchester in 1047 and acquiring Canterbury in 1052.[24] After a career spanning half a century, Domesday Book reveals Stigand to have been one of the wealthiest landholders in Edward the Confessor's England, holding a vast amount of property, not only in his episcopal and archiepiscopal capacities, but also in the form of demesne estates which he held in his own right.[25]

Stephen Baxter's discussion of Stigand's holdings on the *PASE Domesday* website highlights the difficulty of accurately distinguishing between episcopal and private estates. Baxter compared his own assessment of Stigand's landed interests with previous assessments by Mary Frances Giandrea and N. L. Mitton and noted that, despite methodological differences 'the two most recent estimates agree that Stigand's demesne estates generated an annual value of just over £2,000', a figure which placed him as the third richest man in England

[22] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Stigand (*d.* 1072)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26523> (Accessed 10.04.17); 'Stigand 1, archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1072', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17).
[23] Stephen Baxter, 'Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury (1052–1070, d. 1072)', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 10.04.17).
[24] Cowdrey, 'Stigand (*d.* 1072)', *ODNB*.
[25] Baxter, 'Stigand', *PASE Domesday*.

at the beginning of 1066, behind only King Edward and Earl Harold.[26] From a political point of view, the fact that the archbishop held more land than his successors at Canterbury and Winchester combined made him a formidable and potentially dangerous figure from the point of view of the new king. His deposition, however, was ostensibly on the grounds of having assumed the see of Canterbury in plurality with Winchester, and without his predecessor Robert of Jumièges having been formally deposed.[27]

The *Gesta Pontificum* of William of Malmesbury includes an ambiguous account of Stigand's career and removal from office. William was characteristically critical of the archbishop's ambition, greed and corruption, complaining that 'he openly trafficked in bishoprics and abbacies, and only stopped wanting when there was no more to want', though he attributed this behaviour more to ignorance of proper ecclesiastical conduct than to malice on Stigand's part.[28] The *Gesta Pontificum* also describes how, when the Conqueror returned to Normandy in 1067, he 'took with him the reluctant Stigand under a show of honouring him, for he wanted to make sure the archbishop's influence did not cause any emergence of treason in his absence'.[29] This passage suggests that the new king had identified Stigand early on as a political threat and a

[26] Baxter, 'Stigand's *feudum*', *PASE Domesday*.
[27] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 303; for the contemporary claim that Stigand had been excommunicated by successive popes, see also *Canterbury Professions*, ed. Michael Richter, Canterbury and York Society, vol. 67 (Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1973), nos. 31–3; for the argument that Robert remained a political player and continued to fulfil some of the functions of the archiepiscopal office while in exile in the early 1050s, see Tom Licence, 'Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop in Exile (1052–5)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 42 (2013), 311–29, pp. 326–9.
[28] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 46–7. ('prorsus publicas nundinas ex episcopatibus et abbatiis fatiens, et ibi cupiendi modestiam admittens ubi quod cuperet deesset').
[29] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 48–9. ('sub uelamine honoris renitentem secum traxit, ne quid perfidiae se absente per eius auctoritatem in Anglia pullularet').

potential focus for rebellion against him, and William of Malmesbury, for all his personal reservations about Stigand, viewed the deposition as having been instigated by the Conqueror for political reasons, rather than in accordance with papal command.[30]

Less is known about the other four bishops removed under the new regime. None of them possessed the political or economic clout enjoyed by Stigand. Still, they seem for the most part to have been well-connected figures within the pre-Conquest aristocracy and this factor is perhaps significant. Also deposed at the same time as Stigand was his brother Æthelmær, who had succeeded him as bishop of Elmham.[31] Like Stigand, though on a far more modest scale, Æthelmær held a number of estates in East Anglia in 1066 which seem to have been personal holdings not attached to his bishopric. After his deposition these found their way into the fiefs of various tenants-in-chief, including Roger Bigod, the sheriff of Norfolk, and William de Warenne, who each acquired two small estates in Norfolk, and Ralph Baynard, who was granted two hides at East Ruston in Suffolk.[32] Æthelmær, therefore, had landed and familial ties to East Anglia, as well as serving as its bishop. Henrietta Leyser noted that he was, or had been, married and that this made him an easy target for deposition.[33] Writing in the twelfth century, John of Worcester saw his

[30] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 48–9.
[31] Henrietta Leyser, 'Æthelmaer (*d.* after 1070)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/101200> (Accessed 10.04.17); 'Æthelmær 35, bishop of Elmham, 1047–1070', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17).
[32] Stephen Baxter, 'Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham, fl. 1066', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 10.04.17).
[33] Leyser, 'Æthelmaer (*d.* after 1070)', *ODNB*.

removal as part of a deliberate policy by William I to replace English prelates with Normans.[34]

In the North, Æthelwine had also succeeded his brother, Æthelric, as Bishop of Durham, both having previously served as monks at Peterborough.[35] There is no evidence to suggest the two brothers had any aristocratic family ties. Æthelwine was involved in two diplomatic missions involving Malcolm III of Scotland, in 1059 and 1068 respectively, and he initially accommodated himself to the new regime. In the spring of 1070 however, after the king's brutal northern offensive during the previous winter, the bishop voluntarily gave up his see and went into exile. He seems to have been outlawed at William's Easter court of 1070 and captured by the king's men at Ely in 1071, though how he came to be there is unclear.[36] John of Worcester recorded him dying in captivity, having refused all food in his grief at his treatment, and noted that his brother Æthelric, the former bishop of Durham, also died in captivity.[37] Whatever the truth behind the rather confused accounts of Æthelwine's life, the end of his episcopate was overtly political.

The next bishop to be removed was Leofwine of Lichfield. Leofwine was the son of Wulfwine, one of the most important retainers of Leofric, earl of Mercia (c.1032–1057).[38] Stephen Baxter has suggested that he may even have

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[34] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Vol III*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 12–3.
[35] David Rollason, 'Æthelwine (*d.* in or after 1071)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95139> (Accessed 10.04.17). 'Æthelwine 40, bishop of Durham, 1056–71', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17).
[36] Rollason, 'Æthelwine (*d.* in or after 1071)', *ODNB*.
[37] *John of Worcester*, III, pp. 16–7, 20–3.
[38] Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 154, n. 6; see also 'Leofwine 72, bishop of Lichfield, 1053–1070', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17).

been a kinsman of the Mercian earls themselves, since Earl Leofric's father had also been called Leofwine, although he noted that the name was common in this period and is thus far from conclusive evidence of kinship.[39] Nevertheless, Leofwine certainly had connections within the comital family, and it is likely that he owed his ecclesiastical promotions, first as abbot of Coventry from c.1043 and then as bishop of Lichfield from 1053, to their patronage.

He was compelled to resign his see at Easter 1071, allegedly to avoid having to defend it against charges that he had been married, having already been excommunicated the year before by the papal legates at the 1070 Council of Winchester.[40] M. J. Franklin argued that Lanfranc's hesitation to appoint a new bishop to Lichfield should be interpreted as evidence of the archbishop's scepticism about the charges made against Leofwine, whose resignation of his office occurred in the same year as the final failed rebellion of Earl Leofric's grandsons, Edwin and Morcar, against William I's rule. [41]

Finally, and least explicably on canonical grounds alone, there was the deposition of Bishop Æthelric of Selsey. Initially removed at the Council of Windsor at Whitsun 1070, Æthelric was afterwards reinstated, technically if not practically, by Pope Alexander II, and only definitively deprived of his see in 1076.[42] Æthelric began his career as a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and a later Canterbury tradition remembered the wise old bishop being brought to

[39] Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia*, p. 155, n.7.
[40] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), no. 2.
[41] M. J. Franklin, 'Leofwine (*d.* in or before 1095)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95149> (Accessed 10.04.17)
[42] C. P. Lewis, 'Stigand (*d.* 1087)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/101198> (Accessed 10.04.17)

offer expert testimony at the 1072 trial on Penenden Heath, in the back of a cart.[43] The fact that the anonymous compilers of Lanfranc's letter collection chose to include Alexander II's instruction to King William to reinstate Æthelric suggests that there were still doubts about the legitimacy of his deposition in the community at Christ Church at the end of the eleventh century.[44] John of Worcester, meanwhile, was explicit in declaring it uncanonical.[45]

It is possible, however, that Æthelric is to be identified with the 'monachus Ælricus nomine' who appears in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* as a member of the community at Christ Church.[46] A kinsman of Earl Godwine, this individual was apparently subject to the earl's efforts to have him appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1051, a plan which was disrupted by King Edward's appointment of the Norman Robert of Jumièges, and the subsequent political conflict which led to the temporary exile of Godwine and his sons.[47] Though the name 'Ælricus' could be interpreted as Ælfric rather than Æthelric, it is notable that the only two Domesday entries which give Bishop Æthelric's name in addition to his episcopal style spell it 'Alricus'.[48]

Æthelric, then, may have been related to Earl Godwine and Harold Godwinesson. Leofwine may have been related, and was certainly connected, to the family of Earl Leofric. Stigand and Æthelmær came from a prominent, if not

[43] Lewis, 'Stigand (*d.* 1087)' *ODNB*.
[44] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 7, pp. 62–3.
[45] *John of Worcester*, III, pp. 14–5.
[46] *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, pp. 30–1.
[47] For the crisis of 1051–2, see Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Yale University Press, 2nd edn, 1997), pp. 104–26; for Edward's episcopal appointments, see Mary Frances Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73.
[48] *Domesday Book: Sussex*, 9,11; 9,60.

aristocratic, provincial family and Stigand possessed landed resources which made him one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom. Æthelwine's position in the turbulent North must always have been vulnerable in the years after the Conquest and his flight in 1070 and potential collusion with Edgar the Ætheling and other English rebels sealed his fate.

When these bishops are considered together as a group, parallels emerge between their backgrounds, at least as much as between their purported offences against canonical principles. The men who were deposed were not only of English birth. They were deeply embedded within the provincial elites of mid-eleventh-century England and, at a time of crisis for the new regime, their Godwinesson or Leofwinesson connections must have rendered them as vulnerable as their pluralism or forbidden wives.

Seven pre-Conquest bishops avoided deposition in the early 1070s. Bishop William of London was a Norman clerk, appointed by Edward the Confessor; Giso of Wells, Hermann of Ramsbury and Sherborne, and Walter of Hereford were Lotharingians; and the remaining three were Englishmen. Of the natives, Wulfstan of Worcester seems to have survived partly by virtue of his reputation for holiness and partly due to his exceptional ability to accommodate himself to the new regime. Nicholas Brooks has also noted that Wulfstan's appointment under the supervision of a papal legate in 1062 offered him 'a degree of immunity', provided he remained loyal to the new king.[49] Siward of Rochester and Leofric of Exeter, meanwhile, seem to have occupied themselves primarily with pastoral care and the administration of their dioceses, and

[49] Nicholas Brooks, 'Introduction', *St Wulfstan and his World: Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1–21, p. 2.

neither had discernible connections to the great comital families of pre-Conquest England.[50]

If we consider the men who survived in office into the 1070s, in conjunction with those whom William appointed to fill the vacancies left by deaths and depositions, something of a deliberate policy seems to emerge, which went beyond simply replacing Englishmen with foreigners. The Conqueror seems often to have chosen bishops who were, in some sense, outsiders; men with impeccable administrative credentials and useful professional ties, but without social and familial bonds of loyalty and obligation that would bind them strongly to anyone other than him. In brief, the men who were appointed to bishoprics after 1066, and the circumstances in which they were appointed, were as follows:

Remigius, bishop of Dorchester/Lincoln (1067–1092): The circumstances of Remigius' birth are unknown. He first appears as the almoner of Fécamp, where David Bates has suggested that he may have been a child oblate.[51] If he had aristocratic connections within Normandy, no evidence for them has survived. However, he actively supported Duke William in the Conquest of England, and seems to have been awarded the first vacant bishopric in the conquered

[50] Emma Mason, 'Wulfstan [St Wulfstan] (*c.*1008–1095)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3099> (Accessed 10.04.17); 'Wulfstan 55, II, bishop of Worcester and saint, 1062–1095', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17); Frank Barlow, 'Leofric (*d.* 1072)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16471> (Accessed 10.04.17); ' Leofric 60,
Bishop of Crediton, 1046–1072', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17); Marios Costambeys and Henry Summerson, 'Siward (*d.* 1075)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25653> (Accessed 10.04.17); 'Siweard 13, Bishop of Rochester, 1058–1075', *PASE*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 01.11.17).

[51] David Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067–1092* (Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Library, 1992), p. 4.

kingdom as a reward for his service. He was one of only three ecclesiastics listed in a document known as the *Ship list of William the Conqueror*, which provides valuable details of the preparations for the invasion, and evidence of Remigius' administrative experience.[52] Eadmer claimed that the bishop was later accused of simony and had to defend himself against the charge before Pope Alexander II.[53]

Walkelin, bishop of Winchester (1070–1098): Walkelin was a canon of Rouen cathedral and also served as one of the Conqueror's chaplains before being appointed to Winchester.[54] In his *Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury described Walkelin as a having been a particular favourite of Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen, who may have recommended him to King William.[55]

Herfast, bishop of Elmham/Thetford (1070–1084): Herfast first appears as a ducal chaplain. Nothing is known of his early life or career. A story given by William of Malmesbury about a clash with Lanfranc in the early 1060s is probably apocryphal, and likely due to a later disagreement over the location of Herfast's see.[56] He witnessed royal charters as chancellor in 1068 and 1069.[57]

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[52] For Remigius' involvement in the Norman invasion see Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), 159–84, pp. 166-71.
[53] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia: et opuscula duo de vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884), p. 11.
[54] M. J. Franklin, 'Walkelin (*d.* 1098)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28465> (Accessed 10.04.17).
[55] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 270–3.
[56] See *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 23.
[57] Frank Barlow, 'Herfast (d. 1084)', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13075> (Accessed 11.04.17).

Stigand, bishop of Selsey/Chichester (1070–1087): Chris Lewis has suggested that Stigand's name, which was unusual in Normandy, might identify him as a kinsman of Stigand de Mézidon, Duke William's steward in the 1040s.[58] John of Worcester described him as a ducal chaplain, but he does not attest any ducal charters before 1066 or royal ones before 1070.[59] He may be the 'Stigand[us] cantor' who witnessed a diploma of Archbishop Maurilius, issued between 1055 and 1066, and might therefore have been a dignitary of Rouen cathedral before his promotion to Selsey.[60]

Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York (1070–1100): Thomas was the son of a priest and a protégé of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who sent him to Liège to study and later made him treasurer of Bayeux cathedral.[61] On Odo's recommendation he became a chaplain to William I before his promotion to York. His brother, Samson, was appointed bishop of Worcester in 1096.

Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070–1089): Lanfranc's early life has been the subject of much debate.[62] Born in Pavia, he seems to have been the son of a prominent citizen who occupied some unspecified position in the law courts of the city.[63] At the time of his appointment to Canterbury he was serving

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[58] Lewis, 'Stigand (*d.* 1087)', *ODNB*.
[59] Lewis, 'Stigand (*d.* 1087)' *ODNB*.
[60] 'Acte 209', *SCRIPTA. Base des actes normands médiévaux*, ed. Pierre Bauduin, <https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/acte/209> (Accessed 11.04.17).
[61] Everett U. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 179.
[62] See Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Chapter 1; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 1.
[63] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p. 4.

as abbot of the Conqueror's foundation of Saint-Étienne at Caen, having gained a reputation as a gifted scholar and teacher, including to Pope Alexander II.[64]

Walcher, bishop of Durham (1071–1080): All that is known for certain of Walcher's background is that he was a clerk in Liège before being appointed to the turbulent see of Durham.[65] He does not appear in the cathedral chapter obit book, so it is possible that he served as a canon of one of the other collegiate churches in the city.[66] Symeon of Durham, writing in the twelfth century, claimed that Walcher had been invited to come to Durham directly from Liège by the king, and that he was already an elderly man at the time of his appointment.[67]

Osbern, bishop of Exeter (1072–1103): The only one of William I's bishops from a truly aristocratic background, Osbern was the brother of William fitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, and the Conqueror's most trusted friend and advisor. He had come to England during the reign of Edward the Confessor, whom he served as a royal chaplain. He continued to serve William in this capacity, until his promotion to Exeter in 1072.[68]

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[64] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc (*c.*1010–1089)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16004> (Accessed 10. 04.17).
[65] Henrietta Leyser, 'Walcher, earl of Northumbria (*d.* 1080)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28428> (Accessed 10. 04.17).
[66] *L'obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège (XIe–XVe siècles)*, ed. Alain Marchandisse (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1991).
[67] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 194–5.
[68] For a detailed account of Osbern's pre-episcopal career, see Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2016), 207–43, pp. 218–36.

Peter, bishop of Lichfield/Chester (1072–1085): Like Osbern, Peter seems to have started his career as a chaplain of Edward the Confessor, by whom he was granted churches in Berkshire and Somerset. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his birth.[69]

Hugh de Orival, bishop of London (1075–1085): Another bishop whose background and early career are a mystery. He may have been a royal chaplain and was presumably of Norman, or at least French, origin but the place name 'Orival' is impossible to locate with confidence.[70]

Arnost, bishop of Rochester (1075–1076): Arnost was a monk and prior of Bec. He was well known to Lanfranc, whom he aided in the copying of texts at Saint-Étienne, Caen, and he may have accompanied the archbishop to England in 1070. After the death of Bishop Siward, Lanfranc chose Arnost as his suffragan at Rochester, but he lived for only six months after his appointment.[71]

Gundulf, bishop of Rochester (1076–1108): Frank Barlow described Gundulf as being of Italian origin and possibly related to the future Archbishop Anselm, whose father was also named Gundulf.[72] Martin Brett, however, trusted the evidence of the Bec *Life of Gundulf*, which recorded that he was born in the

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[69] Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154*, p. 62; Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', pp. 164, 166.
[70] *English Episcopal Acta* XV: *London 1076–1187,* ed. Falco Neininger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xlii.
[71] Costambeys and Summerson, 'Siward (*d.* 1075)', *ODNB*.
[72] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 64; for Anselm's early life and his father, see Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 3–7.

Norman Vexin in 1023 or 1024, to parents whose names are known, but who seem not to have been of high status.[73] He began his career as a clerk at Rouen but after a disastrous failed attempt to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1058, he became a monk at Bec. There he cultivated a close friendship with Anselm, and came to the attention of Lanfranc, in whose household he came to England in 1070.[74] Gundulf achieved a reputation as an architect and a specialist in the translation of relics.[75]

Osmund, bishop of Salisbury (1078–1099): The circumstances of Osmund's birth are unknown, though he was likely Norman. The bull of canonisation by which the bishop was made a saint in the fifteenth century claimed he was related to the ducal family, but this claim has no basis in any contemporary text. He was a royal chaplain, and chancellor from 1070 to 1078.[76]

Robert the Lotharingian, bishop of Hereford (1079–1095): Robert was probably born near Liège. His interest in mathematics suggests he was educated at the cathedral school there and he is recorded in the chapter obit book as 'frater noster', so may well have been a former canon.[77] He may have come to

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[73] Martin Brett, 'Gundulf (1023/4–1108)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11738> (Accessed 11.04.17); For Gundulf's parentage see *The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), pp. 25–31.
[74] Brett, 'Gundulf (1023/4–1108)', *ODNB*.
[75] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 65.
[76] Teresa Webber, 'Osmund [St Osmund] (d. 1099)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20902> (Accessed 11.04.17); for the texts relating to Osmund's canonisation see *The Canonization of St Osmund from the Manuscript Records*, ed. A. R. Malden (Salisbury: Wiltshire Records Society, 1901).
[77] *L'obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège*, p. 89; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 8, Hereford*, ed. Julia Barrow (London: The Institute of Historical Research, 2002), p. 1.

England in the time of Edward the Confessor but Julia Barrow has argued he is more likely to have been invited by William I, whom he served as a chaplain.[78] His time at Liège cathedral may have coincided with that of Thomas of Bayeux and/or Walcher.

William of St Calais, bishop of Durham (1080–1096): Most of our information about the early life of William of St Calais comes from Symeon of Durham. He recorded that William was educated at Bayeux cathedral under Bishop Odo, before becoming a monk and later prior of St Calais, and then abbot of St Vincent-des-Prés. Like Lanfranc a decade earlier, St Calais already had experience of serving King William, having undertaken diplomatic missions in Maine, Anjou and France. Yet, also like Lanfranc, he had an ecclesiastical career and a reputation of his own, outside the confines of the royal chapel, at the time of his appointment.[79]

Robert de Limesey, bishop of Chester/Coventry (1085–1117): Robert was a royal chaplain, and a canon and prebendary of St Paul's cathedral, London, at the time of his appointment to Chester. M. J. Franklin suggested that he may have been the nephew of the Domesday tenant-in-chief Roger de Limésy, who held land in eight shires.[80]

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[78] Julia Barrow, 'Robert the Lotharingian (*d.* 1095)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17026> (Accessed 11.04.17).
[79] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 222–25; Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 64; W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich, (Woodbrige: Boydell Press, 1994), 283–99, pp. 287–90.
[80] M. J. Franklin, 'Limesey, Robert de (d. 1117)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95150> (Accessed 11.04.17); for Ralph de Limséy's

William de Beaufeu, bishop of Thetford (1085–1091): There are many different spellings of William's toponym in contemporary sources, but it probably refers to an origin in or near Beaufour, in the Calvados region of Normandy. Attestations in ducal charters relating to Beaufour suggest that William may have been well connected. He was perhaps a nephew of John, bishop of Avranches (1060–1067) and archbishop of Rouen (1067–1079), and probably a relative of Ralph de Beaufour, who had extensive Domesday holdings in Norfolk and Suffolk. William was also a royal clerk before his promotion.[81]

Maurice, bishop of London (1085–1107): Nothing is known for certain of the circumstances of Maurice's birth or early life. It is possible that had Angevin origins, since the cathedral at Angers was dedicated to St Maurice and the name appears relatively often among the witnesses in the cathedral *cartulaire noir*.[82] A family background in Anjou would also have made him an acceptable candidate for archdeacon of Le Mans, which role he held in the 1070s before being made chancellor by William I upon Osmund's promotion to Salisbury.[83] He may also have had a Rouen connection, like several of William's other

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holdings, see Stephen Baxter, 'Ralph de Limésy, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 11.04.17).

[81] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'William de Beaufou (*fl.* 1085–1091)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1852> (Accessed 11.04.17); for Ralph de Beaufour see Stephen Baxter, 'Ralph de Beaufour, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 11.04.17).

[82] *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. Charles Urseau (Paris: Germain et G. Grassin, 1908), pp. 57, 111, 118, 151, 267, 273, 282, 298.

[83] 'Bishops of London', *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 1, St. Paul's, London*, ed. Diana E Greenway (London, 1968), p.1; for more on the early career of Bishop Maurice, see Chapter 5, below, pp. 272–83.

bishops, since he donated property to the nunnery of Saint-Amand there, after his promotion to London.[84]

What conclusions, if any, can be drawn from this overview of the personal histories of William's bishops before they assumed episcopal office? Perhaps the first point to stress is that the monastic bent of the surviving narrative sources means that we tend to be better informed about the prior careers of monastic bishops than secular ones. Thus more is known about the early lives and activities of successive suffragan bishops of Rochester, Arnost and Gundulf, than about such nationally significant figures as Walkelin of Winchester, Osmund of Salisbury and Maurice of London. As discussed above, secular bishops, no matter how influential they were in the administration and government of their age, did not tend to inspire biographies in England.[85] We are therefore forced to rely primarily on documentary evidence for the early careers of most of William's secular bishops.

Nevertheless some patterns do emerge, even from the limited evidence available. The first is that William, very likely with the help and advice of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, seems to have drawn on a number of overlapping and interlocking professional networks in his selection of candidates for episcopal office. There is the connection with Bayeux itself, which directly provided Thomas I of York and later his brother Samson of Worcester, and indirectly William of St Calais, who began his career under Odo's supervision. There was

[84] David Bates, ed.,*'Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), no. 242.
[85] See Introduction above, pp. 10–2.

also a link with the archiepiscopal see of Rouen, where Walkelin was a canon and Stigand of Selsey may have been cantor. Gundulf, too, began his career at Rouen, before becoming a monk, while William de Beaufeu may have been the nephew of Archbishop John. Bec, meanwhile, produced monastic bishops who were also highly capable administrators; not only Lanfranc, but also his two suffragans at Rochester. Finally, there is the continuation of the Lotharingian connection which had been such a significant feature of the English church under Edward the Confessor.[86] Both Odo and William himself seem to have recognised the value of royal servants who had been educated in the cathedral school at Liège, where Thomas of Bayeux, Walcher, and Robert the Lotharingian all studied, possibly at the same time in the 1060s. Certain centres were clearly trusted by the Conqueror to provide him with reliable men, either for promotion directly to the episcopate, or for service in the royal chapel.

William's bishops thus had a range of professional connections and experience, which included, but extended beyond, the royal chapel. Their familial connections, however, were more modest.[87] With the exception of Osbern fitzOsbern, none can be proven to have been related to the most powerful Anglo-Norman lay magnates. Those whose parentage is known, such as Lanfranc, Thomas of Bayeux and Gundulf, were of respectable but not aristocratic origins. It would, of course, be dangerous to extrapolate from these individuals to the eleven bishops appointed by William about whose birth we know nothing. Yet the very silence of the sources on this score suggests that the

[86] Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 203–72, pp. 205–11.
[87] The strikingly non-aristocratic backgrounds of most post-Conquest English bishops and higher clergy is commented upon in David Crouch and Claire de Trafford, 'The Forgotten Family in Twelfth-Century England', *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (1999), 41–63, p. 47.

majority were not drawn from the comital families who attracted most notice from contemporary chroniclers.

In this respect, William's bishops in England had more in common with their pre-Conquest predecessors than their contemporaries in the duchy of Normandy. Anglo-Saxon bishops — even those who were well-connected — were rarely truly aristocratic, whereas in Normandy 'those chosen to occupy the episcopal office tended to be related to one of the duchy's great families'.[88] Having deposed a number of English bishops with ties of blood or patronage to the pre-Conquest elites he was in the process of supplanting, William seems to have made a concerted effort to replace them with men who were not themselves members of the new Anglo-Norman elite by virtue of their birth.

He was also prepared to appoint men who came from further afield than the duchy of Normandy to strategically or politically important positions, be it the Italian Lanfranc to Canterbury, or the Lotharingians, Walcher and Robert, to the frontier bishoprics of Durham and Hereford. Presumably through processes of recommendation, or by observing their service in the royal chapel, he selected men he could depend upon, whose family circumstances would ensure that they depended absolutely on him. In this context it may also be significant that two bishops who *can* be identified as being possibly related to substantial Domesday tenants-in-chief, Robert de Limesey and William de Beaufeu, were both appointed late in William I's reign in 1085, by which time the king's

[88] Richard Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, October 2009), p. 451; on the familial backgrounds of Anglo-Saxon bishops see Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 139–41; Catherine Cubitt, 'Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 111–26, pp. 124–5.

position in England was much more secure than it had been at the start of the 1070s.

Another significant feature of the overhaul of the English episcopate from 1070 is that the removal of so many native bishops coincided with the shift in the primary language of central royal administration from Old English to Latin.[89] Nowhere is this correlation more evident than in East Anglia, in a series of writs of William I, preserved in the archive of Bury St Edmunds. Of the five surviving writs in favour of the abbey, which were certainly or probably issued before 1070, four are preserved in the vernacular and only one in Latin.[90] Three of the Old English writs are addressed to Bishop Æthelmær, along with Earl Ralph,[91] while the fourth has a more general address to all the king's 'bishops, earls and thegns in the shires where Abbot Baldwin has lands and men' (*William kyng grete mine biscopes and mine erles and alle mine þeynes one þe schiren þer Baldewyne abbot haueth lond and men inne frendlike*).[92] Another six Bury St Edmunds writs survive which are, or might be, authentic, all of which are in Latin. Two of these are datable to 1081,[93] one post-dates 1078,[94] another probably post-dates the death of William Malet in 1071,[95] and the final two may have been issued c.1077 but cannot be firmly dated more narrowly than 1066 ×

[89] Richard Sharpe, 'Peoples and Languages in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Britain and Ireland: Reading the Charter Evidence', *The Reality Behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, ed. Dauvit Broun *et al*. (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 2011), 1–119, p. 2.
[90] David Bates, ed.,*'Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), nos. 34–8. The Latin writ is no. 35.
[91] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 36–8.
[92] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 34.
[93] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 39, 40.
[94] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 44
[95] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 41.

1087.[96] In short, no surviving vernacular writ of the Conqueror in favour of Bury St Edmunds can be confidently ascribed to the period after 1070, and it is likely that only one of the abbey's surviving Latin writs was issued before that date. In this archive at least, 1070 emerges as a watershed moment.

This apparently sharp contrast is of particular interest, since Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds was one of the great ecclesiastical survivors of the Norman Conquest.[97] Though a Frenchman by birth, Baldwin had come to England in the reign of Edward the Confessor, whom he served as a physician. He was appointed as abbot of St Edmund's in 1065 and served until his death in 1097, accommodating himself successfully to the new regime, augmenting the holdings of his abbey and ensuring a degree of continuity at Bury thanks to his close contacts with William I himself.[98]

Baldwin spent much of the 1070s engaged in a protracted dispute over jurisdiction with Æthelmær's replacement, Bishop Herfast of Thetford, who wished to take over the abbey of St Edmund as a base for his see.[99] In the course of the dispute Baldwin eventually resorted to the forgery of purportedly pre-Conquest charters, some of which included vernacular elements.[100] Given the wealth and power of the monastery of St Edmund, the survival of its pre-Conquest abbot, and his willingness to sponsor the continued use of the

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[96] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 42–3.

[97] Antonia Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1982), 65–76; A. F. Wareham, 'Baldwin (d. 1097), abbot of Bury St Edmunds', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/>.

[98] Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds', pp. 67–8.

[99] Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds', pp. 68–71.

[100] Sarah Foot, 'Internal and External Audiences: Reflections on the Anglo-Saxon Archive of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in Suffolk', *Haskins Society Journal*, 24 (2013), 163–93, pp. 172–3. The charters are S 980, S 995, S 1045, and S 1046. On their authenticity see F. E. Harmer, ed., *Anglo–Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 141, n. 2.

vernacular in documents produced at the abbey, it is therefore all the more striking that the shift from Old English to Latin in the language of royal writs in favour of Bury coincided so firmly with the appointment of a new bishop of East Anglia, especially one who had previously served as the king's chancellor.

The pattern is far less clear cut elsewhere, but this in itself may be instructive. For example, a greater degree of continuity is apparent in the West of England, in terms of the use of the vernacular as an administrative language and the persistence of traditional forms of address clause.[101] This makes sense, given that more of the western dioceses retained their pre-Conquest bishops into the 1070s than was the case further east. Giso of Wells and Wulfstan of Worcester both outlived the Conqueror, Walter of Hereford retained his see until his death in 1079, Hermann of Ramsbury and Sherborne died in office in 1078, and, although Leofric of Exeter died in 1072, he was replaced by the most Anglicised of Norman prelates, in the shape of Osbern fitzOsbern.

The correlation between the altered composition of the episcopate and the change in the language of government in the 1070s does not prove that there was a causal relationship between the two. It is not even clear what the direction of travel in such a relationship would have been. Did William seek to appoint foreign bishops *because* they were used to speaking French and carrying out administration in Latin, in order to correct a situation in which much of the business of his realm was conducted in a vernacular which he himself could not understand?[102] Or was the increase in the proportion of royal

[101] See Chapter 2, below, pp. 117–9.
[102] For the story of William trying and failing to learn English, see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980), II, pp. 256–7.

acta issued in Latin after 1070 an unintended consequence of the radical change in personnel? The fact that royal charters in Old English continued to be produced and copied into the twelfth century, albeit in greatly reduced numbers, suggests there was never any deliberate policy to suppress the vernacular as an administrative language, so the second option is perhaps more likely.[103] Nevertheless there may have been bureaucratic as well as religious and political motives for the events of 1070 and afterwards.

Who were William's chaplains?

It has been argued that William's bishops were often recruited on the basis of a wide range of professional experience and connections, not only due to their service in the royal chapel. Nevertheless, the late-eleventh-century episcopate, and government more generally, was dominated by royal chaplains. They played a small but significant role in the administration of Cnut, and a larger one during the reign of Edward the Confessor.[104] They reached what may have been the zenith of their power and influence, however, during the reign of William I.

Court clergy carried out a mixture of liturgical and administrative duties, including the celebration of the mass and performance of the daily office, the

[103] See David A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), nos. 43–55; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. xviii–xix.
[104] Keynes, 'Regenbald', especially pp. 213–7; Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', especially p. 159.

care of relics, and the production of royal *acta*.[105] Regenbald, who Simon Keynes concluded served as chancellor to three kings in the 1060s, is described as *regis sigillarius* in a charter of 1061 for St Mary of Rouen, and the office of keeper of the king's seal was also ascribed to Ranulph Flambard by Hugh the Chanter in his *History of the Church of York*.[106] Some chaplains also served as tutors to royal children or nephews, undertook diplomatic missions, or were trained in medicine.[107]

The status accorded to some of these men during William I's reign is reflected in the witness lists of royal diplomas, particularly that of an act of 1081, in which William initiated a plea between Bishop Herfast of Thetford and Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds.[108] The text survives in an early copy, in a hand of the late eleventh century. The order of the attestations begins with the king and queen, followed by the archbishops, Lanfranc and Thomas, and bishops Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey of Coutances, Hugh of London, Walkelin of Winchester, Wulfstan of Worcester, Remigius of Lincoln, Stigand of Chichester, Osbern of Exeter, Peter of Chester, Herfast of Thetford, Gundulf of Rochester, Osmund of Salisbury and Robert of Hereford.

The episcopal attestations are thus in keeping with the order of precedence dictated by the first canon of the 1075 Council of London, which decreed that the archbishop of York should sit on the right of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London to his left, Winchester on the right of York,

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[105] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 238–9, 255.
[106] Keynes, 'Regenbald', p. 201; *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, revised by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 10–11; 42–3.
[107] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 258–9.
[108] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 39.

and the rest of the bishops in the order of their appointment; though it is striking that Odo and Geoffrey appear before the bishops of London and Winchester.[109] The next group of witnesses are the Conqueror's three surviving sons, and then Maurice the chancellor (later bishop of London) and Bernard, the king's chaplain. These two figures from the royal chapel thus appear before the abbots and secular magnates who also attest the charter.

Their elevated position in the witness list of the Bury diploma is out of keeping with traditional Anglo-Saxon practice, which typically saw royal priests attest after both abbots and ealdormen.[110] Even the illustrious Regenbald, who seems to have been granted something approximating episcopal status by Edward the Confessor,[111] attested after the abbots and ealdormen in a 1062 diploma in favour of the secular college at Waltham, in which he is styled *regis cancellarius*.[112] That Maurice and Bernard appear in such a prominent place illustrates just how significant William's chaplains seem to have become in the government of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. The social status of chaplains was to decline in the twelfth century and they were to slide down the order of attestations in French and English charters.[113] Here, though, we see them presented in a position of real importance.

For such significant figures, however, chaplains can sometimes be difficult to identify. Part of the problem lies in the imprecision of the

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[109] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 11; for more on the episcopal order of precedence set out at the Council of London, see Chapter 4 below, pp. 226–9.
[110] Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 28.
[111] Keynes, 'Regenbald', p. 197.
[112] *The Chartae Antiquae Rolls 11–20*, ed. J. Conway Davies, Pipe Roll Society, new series, vol. 33 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1957), pp. 35–8.
[113] Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 256.

terminology used to refer to clerical servants of the king. Julia Barrow has noted that the term 'chaplain', which had first been used in Merovingian Francia, did not appear with any regularity in England before the middle of the eleventh century.[114] *Capellani* become more common in the witness lists of Edward the Confessor's reign but the terminology used to refer to various clerical officials of the king was still far from standardised.[115]

Even after the Conquest, when a sequence of clearly defined royal chancellors can be discerned, other court clergy are still referred to variously as chaplains, clerks, priests and, where they also held simultaneous positions in cathedral chapters or collegiate churches, by their more permanent titles as canons or archdeacons.[116] The distinction between chaplain and clerk, in particular, should not be drawn too sharply, but even men who are described only as priests may in fact have fulfilled the same kind of functions in the royal court as those men who are explicitly termed *capellani*. Earnwine the priest, for example, was a substantial pre- and post-Conquest landholder, holding almost ninety carucates across four shires by 1086, including the forty carucate manor of Kilham, Gransmoor and Harpham in Yorkshire and several urban churches in Lincolnshire, and must surely have been a royal clerk, though no source explicitly refers to him as such.[117]

Contemporary terminology is therefore insufficient to help us to identify all the men who held clerical offices in the king's court and some will almost

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[114] Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 237–8, 243.
[115] Keynes, 'Regenbald', p. 208.
[116] See Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', pp. 52–3.
[117] For Earnwine, see Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2013), pp. 37–8; Stephen Baxter, 'Earnwine the priest, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 11.04.17).

inevitably remain unknown. In her 2000 article on 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops' in the Anglo-Norman period, Stephanie Mooers Christelow compiled a list of all the chaplains employed by William the Conqueror after 1066, which relied upon attestations as *capellanus* in royal diplomas, and explicit uses of the term in Domesday Book.[118] She concluded that William employed thirty-seven chaplains across the course of his reign in England, although they were not all active simultaneously.

This approach to identification is complicated, however, both by the difficulties in terminology noted above, and also by the fact that William issued comparatively few diplomas for English beneficiaries, relative to writs, which lacked witness lists.[119] For these reasons, it is likely that a list of chaplains based exclusively on explicit attributions in charters and Domesday Book omits some men who actually performed comparable functions to those included, a caveat which Christelow acknowledged.[120]

Alongside royal *acta*, Domesday Book is our best source for the identities and landed interests of court clergy. Yet identifying them among the large number of clergy mentioned in the text is challenging. In addition to sixteen references to *capellani* in Great Domesday Book, I have counted 174 entries which refer to *canonici*, seventy-five to *clerici*, twenty-two to *diaconi*, and ten to *archidiaconi*.[121] There are, moreover, a total of 1455 discrete references to priests across Great and Little Domesday, though very unevenly distributed,[122]

[118] Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', pp. 57–8.
[119] For more on royal writs see Chapter 2 below, especially pp. 98–101.
[120] Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', p. 58, n. 75.
[121] In each case I have combined singular and plural uses of the term in the total figure.
[122] See Table 2 below, p. 70.

and Julia Barrow has identified a minimum of 112 clerics who held land directly from the king.[123] The vast majority of Domesday priests probably belonged to small local churches which had nothing at all to do with the royal court. Nevertheless, among this wealth of prosopographical data we find a number of men who are never explicitly described as chaplains, yet may well have been so.

It might seem extreme to consider every priest recorded in Great and Little Domesday Book, when the focus is only on royal chaplains, but I have thought it advisable to take a wide view of the Domesday evidence for priests for two interconnected reasons. The first is that the royal chapel itself was not a socially or professionally homogenous body of men. In his study of the *Hofkapelle* of the Ottonian and Salian emperors, Josef Fleckenstein highlighted the hierarchy that existed within the German royal chapel, with powerful, independently wealthy aristocrats at the top and low-level bureaucrats at the bottom, who probably had little to do with one another, and very different levels of contact with the king himself.[124] Simon Keynes demonstrated that a similar hierarchy existed among Anglo-Saxon royal priests.[125] Though even the most powerful of the higher clergy in England after 1066 tended to be less aristocratic than their German counterparts, it still seems likely that the Conqueror's chapel was similarly stratified, with less important chaplains differing very little from local priests in terms of their status and activities.[126]

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[123] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, Appendix I.

[124] Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, ii. Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 16/II (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966), pp. 29, 39–40, 47–50; see also Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 15–6.

[125] Keynes, 'Regenbald', pp. 190–2.

[126] On the comparative social status of clergy in England, France and Germany, see Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 228–33.

Second, there is the fact, as highlighted by Barrow in her 2010 Brixworth lecture, and discussed further below, that royal chaplains were often in receipt of a wide variety of patronage, not all of which came directly from the king himself.[127] Royal priests, therefore, were often local priests too, and could be embedded in provincial society, while still maintaining contact with the royal court. It is therefore worthwhile to try to establish as full a picture as possible of how the patronage of priests operated in Domesday England, at every level, and not only for the rising stars who were marked out early for a future bishopric.

Before turning to the Domesday evidence, it seemed advisable to establish a set of criteria which might help to distinguish royal chaplains from other groups of clergy. By themselves none of these criteria are sufficient for a positive identification and some of them can also be applied to men who were not royal chaplains. They provide a helpful framework for assessing the Domesday evidence, however, and, where an individual meets more than one, I have usually decided it safe to include them in a revised version of Christelow's list, unless there is compelling external evidence to the contrary. The criteria employed, then, are as follows:

[127] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, p. 21; see below, pp. 88–9.

1. Use of the term *capellanus* or *clericus* as a descriptor, provided there is no known association with an individual other than the king.[128]
2. Holding one or more royal minsters.[129]
3. Holding land or churches from the king as a named individual, rather than collectively.
4. Serving as a canon of St Martin's Dover. At least five, and perhaps six of Edward the Confessor's chaplains also held canonries here.[130]
5. Holding land or churches in prebend from St Paul's cathedral.[131]
6. Holding lands before or after the Conquest, which had previously been held, or were held afterwards, by a known chaplain.[132]
7. Holding land in more than one shire from at least one important tenant-in-chief in addition to the king, especially an ecclesiastical tenant-in-chief.
8. Serving as an archdeacon, but holding land beyond the boundaries of the diocese in which they served.

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[128] A number of episcopal chaplains, for example, appear as subtenants of the Bishop of Hereford, although they are not usually named: *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, 2,21; 2,49; 2,57. For more on Bishop Robert's chaplains and their holdings see Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the church of Hereford, 1079–1095', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (1995), 29–49, pp. 33–7.

[129] For the identification of minsters in Domesday, see John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), especially p. 106.

[130] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 131, 156–8.

[131] Large numbers of St Paul's prebendaries can be identified from external evidence as having been active in royal service in the second half of the eleventh-century. See Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 25–6.

[132] Nigel the physician, for example, is never described as a chaplain but he acquired several holdings which had belonged to Edward the Confessor's chaplain Spirites. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 263; Stephen Baxter, 'Nigel 7, the physician, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 05.11.17).

With these criteria as a framework, therefore, let us turn to the priests (*presbyteri*) of Domesday. Priests are not recorded systematically across Domesday Book as a whole. In Kent, only priests who held separate manors, either as tenants-in-chief or as subtenants, are recorded, while in Middlesex the amount of land attached to manorial churches embedded within larger estates is given, along with the shares of individual priests, villans, bordars and cottars. In Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire, priests are simply recorded as part of the rural population, among the resources of a manor. Little Domesday Book habitually records the presence of unnamed priests on pre-Conquest manors, while Great Domesday Book characteristically omits this information, and records unnamed priests only for 1086. Practice is not always consistent within the same circuit either. In Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire, for example, only named priests tend to be recorded, while Middlesex and Hertfordshire both have far higher numbers of unnamed post-Conquest priests. Sometimes we have references to churches without priests or priests without churches, even though the presence of one usually implied the presence of the other in reality.[133]

It would thus be futile to try to use the Domesday figures to establish how many priests there were in England in 1086, but patterns in how they are recorded are of interest nonetheless. Moreover, John Blair has demonstrated that larger minster churches tended to be better recorded than smaller manorial ones,[134] and the same may have been true of named and unnamed

[133] H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 52–3, 346, Appendix 4.
[134] Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches', p. 112.

priests. In other words, it seems unlikely that many priests who held positions of national, or even local, importance in Anglo-Norman England went unnamed in Domesday Book. The table below provides a breakdown of the number of references to priests, named and unnamed, before and after the Conquest, that occur in each Domesday shire. It is not intended as a guide to the number of discrete priests who appear in Great and Little Domesday Book, but only as an indication of how many times priests are mentioned in each shire. Thus two or more entries dealing with the same person are recorded as two or more separate references, not one single individual.

There are also eleven Great Domesday entries and one in Little Domesday Book which refer to the 'priests of X', where 'X' is a named place. The specific circumstances of each of these entries vary a great deal. In Wiltshire, the entry for the bishop of Salisbury's manor of Ramsbury records that the 'priests of Ramsbury' held four hides.[135] Formerly the episcopal seat for Wiltshire and Berkshire, Ramsbury seems to have been less formally organised in this period than secular collegiate foundations such as Waltham or St Martin-le-Grand in London. It was later granted to the canons of Salisbury cathedral by Bishop Osmund in an act of 1091, and became a prebend of the cathedral.[136]

Elsewhere, the priests of St Petroc, Bodmin, held two manors as tenants-in-chief in Devon, while the priests of St Neot's had been deprived of their manor of St Neot in Cornwall by the Count of Mortain.[137] The priests of

[135] *Domesday Book: Wiltshire*, 3,3.
[136] *English Episcopal Acta* XVIII: *Salisbury, 1078–1217,* ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), no. 3; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 4, Salisbury*, ed. Diana E. Greenway (London: The Institute of Historical Research, 1991), p. 91.
[137] *Domesday Book: Devon*, 51,15; 51,16; *Domesday Book: Cornwall*, 4,28

Wolverhampton held the manor of Lutley in Worcestershire.[138] The priests of St Michael's held two dwellings in the borough of Oxford.[139] The priests of Stafford had fourteen dwellings in the borough of Stafford and the priests of Tettenhall held a hide from the king in alms at Tettenhall (Staffordshire).[140] In Gloucestershire, we are told that the priests of Regenbald's minster at Cheltenham had two ploughs.[141] In Little Domesday Book, the description of the borough of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk refers to thirty 'priests, deacons and clerics' living there together.[142]

As well as references to groups of priests holding property, we also have two references to priests *being held*. In Herefordshire, the abbey of St Mary's of Cormeilles held the churches, priests and tithes of two royal manors in the vill of Eardisland, while in Shropshire, Franco and William the clerk held the church and priests of Lydbury North from the bishop of Hereford .[143] Reinforcing the impression that low-status priests were sometimes considered as being akin to property, some entries even refer to fractions of priests. For example, the entry for Laythorpe in Lincolnshire contains a reference to half a church and half a priest.[144] In the table, entries which refer to the 'priests of X' have been counted as only a single reference in the totals column for the shires in question, but the relevant totals have been marked with an asterisk. Entries which record fractions of priests are indicated by an obelisk.

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[138] *Domesday Book: Worcestershire*, 13,1.
[139] *Domesday Book: Oxfordshire*, B10.
[140] *Domesday Book: Staffordshire*, B10; *Domesday Book: Staffordshire*, 7,5.
[141] *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, 1,1.
[142] *Domesday Book: Suffolk*, 14,167.
[143] *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, 1,6; *Domesday Book: Shropshire*, 2,1.
[144] *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, 26,30.

Table 2: Priests in Great and Little Domesday Book by county

County	*Circuit*	*Named TRE*	*Named TRW*	*Unnamed TRE*	*Unnamed TRW*	*Priests of 'X'*	*Totals*
Kent	I	3	1	–	12	–	16
Sussex	I	11	9	–	7	–	27
Surrey	I	–	1	–	–	–	1
Hants	I	7	11	–	6	–	24
Berks	I	3	13	–	10	–	26
Wilts	II	–	23	–	6	1	30*
Dorset	II	1	9	2	4	–	16
Somerset	II	4	9	–	7	–	20
Devon	II	10	5	1	2	2	20*
Cornwall	II	2	2	–	–	1	5*
Middx	III	–	–	–	18	–	18
Herts	III	4	1	–	55	–	60
Bucks	III	3	4	–	–	–	7
Cams	III	5	3	4	3	–	15
Beds	III	7	8	–	–	–	15
Oxon	IV	1	4	–	2	1	8*
Northants	IV	–	5	–	68	–	73
Leics	IV	–	3	–	42	–	45
Warks	IV	–	1	–	68	–	69
Staffs	V[145]	–	2	–	31	2	35*
Gloucs	V	1	8	1	47	1	58*
Worcs	V	2	2	2	59	1	66*
Hereford	V	5	1	–	47	1	54*
Shrops	V	3	1	–	52	1	57*
Cheshire	V	1	–	–	36	–	37
Hunts	VI	3	5	2	47	–	57
Derbs	VI	–	2	–	47	–	49
Notts	VI	3	6	–	64	–	73
Rutland	VI	–	–	–	7	–	7
Yorks	VI	12	9	–	138	–	159
Lincs	VI	12	28	–	124†	–	164†
Essex	VII	9	10	25	27	–	71
Norfolk	VII	5	8	3	9†	–	25†
Suffolk	VII	3†	3	26	15	1	48†*
Totals		120	198	66	1071		1455

[145] David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 75, argues that Staffordshire was in fact part of Circuit IV and not Circuit V.

From the table we can see that there are more references to named priests holding land TRW in Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire than in most other parts of the country. This is exactly what we might expect from the old Wessex heartlands, which were less affected by the Viking conflicts of the ninth and tenth centuries than areas further north and east, and thus experienced a higher degree of institutional continuity.[146] Yet it is in Lincolnshire that we find the highest number of named post-Conquest priests. Many of the entries in question are found in the account of the customs of the city of Lincoln itself.[147] They help to paint a picture of a network of hereditary urban priests, deeply embedded in the life and administration of the city. Three of the twelve pre-Conquest 'lawmen' of Lincoln, for example, are recorded as having been Siward, Leofwine and Healfdene, *presbyteri*. By 1086, Wulfnoth the priest had taken the place of Siward, while Leofwine had retired to become a monk, leaving his place to his son.[148] Meanwhile, in a separate entry, Wulfnoth the priest is described as having stolen half a carucate that should have belonged to Siward's son Northmann, while it was in the king's hand after Siward's death, and also Siward's wife along with it![149]

A glance over all of Domesday's priests reveals a varied picture with large areas of the country about whose clergy we know very little, and occasional pools of light such as that which illuminates Lincoln. Most of the priests recorded, however, will have had no connection with the king at all.

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[146] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 300.
[147] *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, C3, C4, C6, C14, C16.
[148] *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, C,4.
[149] *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, C,14.

Even the 112 individuals whom Barrow identified as holding land directly from the king in 1066, 1086, or both, probably included many almsmen who served in a purely local capacity and had contact with the royal court only rarely, if at all.[150] At Turvey in Bedfordshire, for example, an English priest Alwine held a third part of half a hide, before and after the Conquest, which was valued at three shillings, and in return for which he performed a mass every Monday for the souls of the king and queen.[151] Meanwhile at Archenfield in Herefordshire three priests held churches on the condition that they should say two masses a week for the king and carry his messages into Wales.[152]

A hierarchy of priests holding land or churches from the king can thus be identified, with men like Alwine and the unnamed priests of the Welsh marches at the bottom, and a group of superrich individuals such as Regenbald the chancellor, with his eight minsters, and Ingelric, royal chaplain and founder of the secular college of St Martin-le-Grand in London, with 120 hides, at the top.[153] Applying the criteria outlined above to the priests and other clerics found in Domesday serves, for the most part, to corroborate Christelow's list of royal chaplains, with a small number of deletions, probable additions and adjustments in terms of the dates given for years of service.[154]

To begin with the necessary deletions from the list: **Robert de Limesey**, who is recorded as having been active in royal service between 1066 and 1085, and who later became bishop of Coventry, is the same individual as Robert of

[150] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 15–6.
[151] *Domesday Book: Befordshire*, 57,19.
[152] *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, A1.
[153] Keynes, 'Regenbald', p.194; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 22–3.
[154] For Christelow's list see Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', pp. 57–8.

Limesi, who attested *ante* 1085, and became bishop of Chester in the same year, the confusion stemming in part from his unlocatable toponym and in part from the fact that his see was translated from Chester to Coventry in 1102. **Ansketil** is described as *capellanus* in the entry for Heveningham in Little Domesday but he was the chaplain of Roger Bigod, the sheriff of Norfolk, rather than a royal chaplain.[155] **Ralph Baynard** was a lay magnate in East Anglia. The 'Rann' capellan[us] de Beinard[us]' who attested a diploma of William II may have been a relative but was not the same man.[156] **Walter**, the Lotharingian chaplain of Edward the Confessor, had already been appointed bishop of Hereford in 1060, and thus did not serve in the Conqueror's chapel, while **Baldwin** had been a ducal chaplain, but was promoted to the bishopric of Évreux in 1066 and thus did not serve William in England. **Smelt** had also been one of the Confessor's chaplains, and is described as such in the entry for St Margaret's at Cliffe in Kent, which he had held TRE as a canon of St Martin's Dover.[157] He was dead by 1086, however, and there is no firm evidence he ever served in the Conqueror's chapel. Smelt had begun his career as a priest of Cnut, whose 1035 diploma in favour of Sherborne he witnessed, and continued to serve both of Cnut's sons and the Confessor.[158] He must already have been a relatively old man in 1066, and it is possible that he retired under the new regime. If he did serve under the Conqueror, it must surely have been only during the early years

[155] *Domesday Book: Suffolk*, 7,13; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166, Volume I: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 151.
[156] Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', p. 58, n. 71.
[157] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 156; *Domesday Book: Kent*, M9.
[158] Chris Lewis, 'Smelt king's priest, fl. 1066', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).

of his reign, during the period where Regenbald was still operating as chancellor.

As for possible additions to the list, some can be suggested with more certainty than others. With varying degrees of confidence, therefore, it is proposed that William's 'Chapel Royal' might also have included:

William of Poitiers: William was the author of the *Gesta Guillelmi* (written c.1071), the most complete narrative account of the Conquest of England from the Norman perspective. He came to England with the Conqueror in his capacity as a ducal chaplain.[159] Most of our information about William comes from Orderic Vitalis, who recorded that he was a Norman by birth, educated at Poitiers, served as an archdeacon at Lisieux, as well as a chaplain, and was ultimately forced to abandon work on the *Gesta Guillelmi* in his later years due to some unspecified misfortune.[160] R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall suggested he may have had some connection to Bishop Odo, since a 'Will[elmu]s Pictau[ensis]' appears in Great Domesday Book among the canons of St Martin's Dover, between whom Odo had divided the prebends of the church, holding one sulung and twelve acres at Sibertswold, and one sulung, less twelve acres, at Deal (both in Kent).[161] It is thus possible that William of Poitiers fell from favour around the time of Bishop Odo's disgrace and imprisonment in 1082 or 1083, or

[159] For a summary of William's career, see *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. xv–xviii.
[160] *Orderic Vitalis*, II, pp. 184–5, 258–61.
[161] *Gesta Guillelmi*, p. xvii; *Domesday: Kent*, M15.

perhaps earlier, in 1077, at the time of Robert Curthose's first rebellion against his father.[162] He attested no surviving royal or ducal charters.

Regenbald: Simon Keynes has demonstrated that Regenbald probably continued to serve William I as chancellor during the early years of his reign.[163] Certainly he appears as a royal priest in an Old English writ datable to 1066 × 1067, granting him land at Eysey and Latton in Wiltshire.[164] He has been credited by George Garnett with the invention of the distinctive phrase 'frencisce 7 englisce', found in some of the Conqueror's writs, and seems to have retired to Cirencester, perhaps in late 1067.[165]

Nigel the physician: Nigel succeeded to thirteen estates which had been held by Spirites, a priest of Edward the Confessor, spread across five shires.[166] In particular, 'Nigellus medicus' appears among the canons of St Martin's, Dover, to whom Bishop Odo had assigned prebends, holding one and a half virgates at St Margaret's at Cliffe, which Spirites held 'in prebendam' TRE.[167] The antecessorial relationship with Spirites and Nigel's position as a canon of St Martin's strongly imply that he was a royal chaplain too.[168] His medical expertise strengthens that conclusion.[169]

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[162] *Gesta Guillelmi*, p. xviii.
[163] Keynes, 'Regenbald', pp. 210–17.
[164] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 223.
[165] George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession and Tenure, 1066–1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 13; Keynes, 'Regenbald', p. 212.
[166] For Nigel's holdings see Stephen Baxter, 'Nigel the physician, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).
[167] *Domesday Book: Kent*, M21.
[168] For Spirites, see also Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', pp. 169–70.
[169] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 259.

Ranulph Flambard: The man who went on to become William II's chief minister, was serving as chaplain to Bishop Maurice of London in 1086, but he was also keeper of the king's seal, and in receipt of extensive royal patronage.[170] He may therefore be safely included among the group of court clergy. He held property in chief in Hampshire and Oxfordshire, and four hides as a royal subtenant in Surrey, as well as holding land from Bishop Maurice and Bishop Osmund of Salisbury.[171] He seems to have been a canon of St Frideswide, Oxford, as well as a prebendary of St Paul's.[172]

Richer: A subtenant of Bishop Walkelin of Winchester in Hampshire and Wiltshire, Richer also held the church of Stogumber with two hides in Somerset.[173] The entry for Stogumber appears under a truncated rubric *Quod clerici regis*, which has been squashed into the space at the end of the preceding entry, for Bishop Maurice of London's church of St Andrew at Ilchester.[174]

Erchenger: Appears to have held only a single church with two and a half virgates at Cannington in Somerset in 1086, but the entry for this church also appears under the *Quod clerici regis* rubric.[175] Barrow has suggested that he may be identifiable with Erchemar, an early twelfth-century canon and dean of

[170] Ranulph is described as keeper of the royal seal by *Hugh the Chanter*, pp. 10–11.
[171] Stephen Baxter, 'Ranulph Flambard, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).
[172] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 47–8.
[173] *Domesday: Somserset*, 16,2; for all of Richer's holdings see Stephen Baxter, 'Richer de les Andelys, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).
[174] GDB, fol. 91r.
[175] *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 16,3; GDB, fols. 91r–v.

Hereford.[176] His German name and location in Somerset might also suggest some connection with Bishop Giso of Wells.

Ælfgeat: Apparently a rare example of an Englishman who had maintained a position as a royal clerk until 1086. Ælfgeat held a church and one hide at South Petherton in Somerset, under the rubric *Quod clerici regis*.[177]

Ralph: The widow and son of a chaplain called Ralph held land at Yarsop and Rowden in Herefordshire in 1086.[178] This must therefore be a different man from Ralph Luffa, who became bishop of Chichester in 1091. It is noteworthy that the Herefordshire Ralph had apparently been openly married and fathered a son. It is difficult to ascertain whether the land Yarsop and Rowden was held by Ralph's widow and son on a hereditary basis, or whether it was ministerial property, which his dependents were allowed to occupy for their lifetimes.

Vitalis: Possibly the same individual who appears as a royal chaplain late in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Frank Barlow suggested that his name might indicate that he was of Norman descent.[179] Orderic, however, recounted how the monks of Saint-Évroult gave him a new name, 'Vitalis', when he arrived at the abbey as a child oblate in 1085, because his English name was difficult for them to pronounce, so it is possible that Vitalis the chaplain also had a

[176] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, p. 39.
[177] *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 16,5; GDB, fols. 91r–v.
[178] *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, 34,1; 34,2.
[179] Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, p. 157.

vernacular name.[180] In 1086 he held the churches of Hurstbourne in Hampshire and Burbage in Wiltshire from the king.[181] By the mid-twelfth century these two churches had been united in a single prebend of Salisbury cathedral.[182] Although Vitalis did not attest any diplomas of William I as a royal priest, it is possible that Edward the Confessor's priest continued in royal service after the Conquest, especially if he was indeed of Norman heritage.

Walter the deacon: A very wealthy tenant-in-chief, holding sixty-two hides across five shires in 1086, Walter had been granted land by Edward the Confessor's queen Edith after the Conquest, and was also a prebendary of St Paul's cathedral.[183]

Benzelin the archdeacon: Described as an archdeacon of Wells in Exon Domesday.[184] Benzelin held two hides from Ernulf de Hesdin at Standen in Wiltshire, a church and one hide from Bishop Giso at Yatton in Somerset and two and a half hides from the king at Lillingstone Lovell in Oxfordshire.[185] The name was an unusual one within the Anglo-Norman world.[186] It existed in an

[180] *Orderic Vitalis*, III, pp. 554–5.
[181] *Domesday Book: Hampshire*, 1,44; *Domesday Book: Wiltshire*, 1,23b.
[182] *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: Salisbury*, pp. 78–80.
[183] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, p. 23; Stephen Baxter, ' Walter the deacon, fl. 1086' *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).
[184] EDB 159b1.
[185] *Domesday Book: Wiltshire*, 25,7; *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 6,14; *Domesday Book: Oxfordshire*, 52,1.
[186] On the rare occurrences of the name in this period, see Richard Allen, 'The earliest known list of excommunicates from ducal Normandy', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2013), 394–415, p. 411.

Old German and an Old French form.[187] Given Benzelin's connection with Bishop Giso, therefore, it is possible that he was of German origin.

William the deacon: Tenant-in-chief in Essex and Suffolk and holder of a third of a royal minster at Wantage in Berkshire.[188] William may also be identifiable with the nephew of Bishop William of London who held two houses in Colchester in 1086.[189]

Gerald: The *Giroldus capellanus* who held the minster church of Stoke in Devon in 1086 is not the same individual as Gerard, the royal chancellor, who became bishop of Hereford in 1096.[190]

There may well have been other men who served at William I's court, among those clerics recorded as holding a church and at least one hide in a single shire; defined by John Blair as being one of the indicators of minster status.[191] I have been unable to identify any others, however, who meet enough of the distinguishing criteria needed to confidently label them as royal chaplains. The addition of these thirteen men to the list compiled by Christelow, and the removal of Ansketil, Walter, Baldwin, Ralph Baynard and the duplicate Robert de Limesey, would take the total number of identifiable chaplains of William I to

[187] Thorvald Forssner, *Continental-Germanic personal names in England in Old and Middle English times* (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1916), p. 44.
[188] Stephen Baxter, ' William 68, the deacon, fl. 1086' *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 06.11.17).
[189] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, pp. 53–4.
[190] Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, p. 38.
[191] Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches', p. 106.

forty-four. This is still fewer than the fifty-seven whom Frank Barlow listed for Edward the Confessor's reign,[192] and suggests that some of the holders of single minsters in Domesday were in fact court clergy too. Nevertheless, the figure suggests that William must always have had a considerable number of clerical servants around him at court, throughout his reign. Concise details of these forty-four men are given in the table below.

Table 3: Royal chaplains of William I

Name	*Appears*	*National original*	*Afterwards*
Smelt	1035 × 1066 *capellanus regis E. DB: Kent*, M9	English	
Regenbald	1050 × 1086	?German	Chancellor until c.1067. Then retired, perhaps to Cirencester.
Ingelric	*ante* 1066 × 1069	?German	Presumably died or retired, perhaps to St Martin-le-Grand
Vitalis	(If one individual) *ante* 1066 × 1086	?Norman	Died or retired either *post* 1066 or *post* 1086
William of Poitiers	*ante* 1066 × *ante* 1087	Norman	Fell from favour some time after 1071.
Osbern fitzOsbern	1062 × 1072	Norman	Bishop of Exeter from 1072
Gontard	1066 × 1078	Norman	Abbot of Jumièges from 1078
Osmund	1066 × 1078	Norman	Bishop of Salisbury from 1078
Robert of Limesey	*ante* 1085	Norman	Bishop of Chester/Coventry from 1085

[192] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 156–8.

Name	*Appears*	*National original*	*Afterwards*
Bernard son of Ospac	1068 × 1081	Norman	Monk of Holy Trinity Rouen
Robert Bloet	*ante* 1087 (?chancellor after Maurice)	Norman	Bishop of Lincoln from 1094
John of Villula	*ante* 1087	French	Bishop of Bath from 1088
Michael	*ante* 1068	Italian	Bishop of Avranches from c.1068
Gilbert Maminot	1067 × 1077	Norman	Bishop of Lisieux from 1077
Reynold/ Reginald	1067 × 1083	Norman	Abbot of Abingdon from 1084
Thomas of Bayeux	1068 × 1070	Norman	Archbishop of York from 1070
Walkelin	*ante* 1070	Norman	Bishop of Winchester from 1070
Herfast	*ante* 1070	Norman	Bishop of Thetford from 1070
Stigand	*ante* 1070	Norman	Bishop of Selsey from 1070
Samson of Bayeux	1072 × 1096	Norman	Bishop of Worcester from 1096
Wandebert	1073	?Lotharingian/ German	
Robert the Lotharingian	*ante* 1079	Lotharingian	Bishop of Hereford from 1079
William son of Swein	1082	?Norman	
Benedict of Rouen	1082	Norman	
Walter fitz Goter	1082	?Lotharingian/ German	
William of Beaufeu	*ante* 1085	Norman	Bishop of Thetford from 1085
Herbert Losinga	*ante* 1090/91	Norman	Bishop of Thetford/ Norwich from 1090/91

Name	*Appears*	*National original*	*Afterwards*
Gunter of Le Mans	*ante* 1085	French	Abbot of Thorney from 1085
Ansgar	*post* 1085	Norman	
Maurice	*ante* 1085	?Norman	Bishop of London from 1085
Albert the Lotharingian	*ante* 1066 × *post* 1086	Lotharingian	
Ralph[193]	*ante* 1086 × 1091	Norman	Bishop of Chichester from 1091
Ralph, 'the chaplain'	*ante* 1086	?Norman	Dead by 1086
Gerard	*?ante* 1085 × 1096	Norman	Bishop of Hereford 1096 Archbishop of York 1100
Gerald	c.1086	?Norman	
Stephen	c.1086	?Norman	
Nigel the physician	c.1086	Norman	
Walter the deacon	c.1086	?Lotharingian/ German	
Richer of Les Andelys	c.1086	Norman	
Erchenger	c. 1086	?Lotharingian/ German	
William the deacon	c.1086	Norman	
Ælfgeat	c.1086	English	
Benzelin the archdeacon	c.1086	?French/ German	
Ranulph Flambard	*ante* 1085 × 1099	Norman	Bishop of Durham

[193] It is possible that Ralph Luffa, bishop of Chichester, is the same man who held land and churches from the king, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, Count Alan and the Count of Mortain in 1086. See Stephen Baxter, 'Ralph 90, the priest, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.04.17).

As was the case with the ethnic composition of the episcopal bench, the majority of William's chaplains were of Norman, or at least French, origin, with some Lotharingians, possibly a few men from other parts of the Empire, one or two Englishmen, and an Italian. Moreover, Continental clerics who were not Normans appear in the localities in Domesday, as well as in the royal chapel. In addition to the men listed above, we have **Wening/Wenenc** who held twenty hides from the count of Eu in Sussex, and a brother of **Ingelric** called **Eirard**, who is mentioned in the foundation charter for St Martin-le-Grand.[194] **Lambert** held houses in Wallingford in Berkshire.[195] A related name, Lambin/Lambinus, was identified by Cecily Clark as belonging to a number of Flemings recorded in the Black Book of St Augustine's, Canterbury.[196] Lambert was also the baptismal name taken by King Cnut and strongly associated with Liège.[197] **Franco**, a lay servant of Robert the Lotharingian and brother of the bishop's clerk, William, shared his name with a *scholasticus* of Liège cathedral from 1049 to 1083, who wrote a treatise on squaring the circle.[198] In light of Robert's own connections with Liège, it is therefore possible that the brothers were also Lotharingians, whom he had brought with him to Hereford. In Somerset the Flemish clerk **Raimer/Rayner** held Huish Rhyne from his brother Walter of Douai.[199] **Solomon** in Bedfordshire and **Abraham**, who held land in Wales, may both have been Welshmen, since Welsh clerics frequently used Biblical names when

[194] *Domesday Book: Sussex*, 9,6; 9,26; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 181.
[195] *Domesday Book: Berkshire*, B7.
[196] Cecily Clark, 'People and Languages in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *Words, Names, and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark*, ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 179–207, p. 191.
[197] Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 243.
[198] Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford', p. 31, n. 20.
[199] *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 24,36.

they wrote down their names at all.[200] The name **Toxus**, who claimed a church on the coast of Dorset, is difficult to locate with confidence, though it may be a Latinisation of the Scandinavian name Toki.[201]

The picture is a cosmopolitan one, with opportunities for advancement clearly available at all levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy for men from the Continent who had come to England to seek them. Nevertheless, very many of the named TRW priests in Domesday Book are still Englishmen, and it is probable that a large majority of the unnamed ones were. What is apparent, however, is the frequent reduction in status of Anglo-Scandinavian priests. In Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, for example, we see that Thorkil, Earl Tostig's former priest, had been deprived of two of the three manors he had once held by 1086, and that the one he retained, at Botolph Bridge in Huntingdonshire, he now held as a subtenant of Eustace the Sheriff. [202] There are also clear examples of foreign chaplains being installed at the head of royal minsters presumably still full of native canons. For example, Gerald the chaplain is recorded as holding Stoke, in Devon, in 1086 and the canons of St Nectan's from him, and the entry goes on to say that the canons held the manor themselves in 1066.[203] Native priests thus continued to serve in minsters and

[200] *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, W4; *Domesday Book: Bedfordshire*, 28,2. For example, Abraham, David, Moses and Samuel all appear in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 9, the Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*, ed. M. J. Pearson (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2003). For more on the use of Biblical names by priests in Gaelic and Brittonic speaking regions, see Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Scotland, the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittnum, and the Lebor Bretnach', *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. Samuel Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000), 87–107, p. 91.
[201] *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, 34,8.
[202] *Domesday Book: Cambridgeshire*, 41,9; *Domesday Book: Huntingdonshire*, B12; 19,9.
[203] *Domesday Book: Devon, Part 2*, 45,3.

local communities, and even as royal almsmen, but they were undoubtedly subordinated to a new foreign-born ecclesiastical elite.

We have already seen that many of William's chaplains were promoted to bishoprics, either in England or in Normandy. Others, such as Gontard and Reginald, became abbots, demonstrating the high degree of cross-over between secular and monastic institutions and elites in the later eleventh century. Of those who were not promoted higher than the royal chapel, some presumably died in office, while others, like Bernard son of Ospac, who served William in Normandy but visited England on at least three occasions during his reign, retired to monasteries.[204] Those, like Regenbald and Ingelric, who had been granted or founded secular minsters and colleges, presumably retired to these. When these individuals died, the churches and land that they had been granted by the king in an official capacity, as remuneration for their service in the royal chapel, reverted to him, while those properties they held in their own right were heritable. Keynes noted that Roger of Salisbury can be detected holding five of Regenbald's former minsters in the early twelfth century.[205]

Those chaplains who retired from royal service, then, were allowed to hold on to the rewards of royal patronage in order to support them in their retirement; but what of those who were promoted to bishoprics? Given that these individuals were not retiring and would henceforth have the income from their dioceses to support them, we might expect to find the king reclaiming the

[204] H. R. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154*, Volume 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. xviii.
[205] Keynes, 'Regenbald', p. 212.

estates they had been granted in their capacity as chaplains at the time of their promotion, but the Domesday evidence demonstrates that this is not what happened.

Thus the final entry in the sequence of Somerset entries under the *Quod clerici regis* rubric mentioned above, notes that half a hide at Kilmersdon had belonged to Bishop Peter but was in the hand of the king by 1086.[206] The Bishop Peter in question must be Peter of Chester, who had died the year before and had only been replaced by Robert of Limesey at Christmas 1085. The implication is that Peter was granted this land when he was a royal chaplain, had retained it after he became bishop, but that it had reverted to the king after his death and William had not yet regranted it. Similarly, at the end of the account of the royal fief in Wiltshire, a series of what were presumably minster churches are recorded, held by a mixture of current or retired royal chaplains, and bishops who had previously been so.[207] A church at Writtle in Essex, held in 1086 by Bishop Robert of Hereford but previously given by Harold to one of his priests, may be another example of land being granted by William I to a chaplain who afterwards became a bishop.[208]

The system was evidently supposed to work by allowing chaplains to retain their official estates for life, irrespective of promotions or retirement, but not allowing them to alienate them. However, it is apparent that it was not consistently enforced. Returning to the sequence of Wilshire entries, we can see that two of these churches were already held by the abbey of Saint-Wandrille in

[206] *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 16,14.
[207] *Domesday Book: Wiltshire,* 1,23a–j. Holding the estates in question are Ralph, Vitalis, Regenbald, Alweard, Beohrtweard, Osbern of Exeter and William de Beaufeu.
[208] *Domesday Book: Essex*, 1,24.

1086 and Vitalis seems to have managed to bequeath his churches of Hurstbourne and Burbage to his son Thurstin, who gave them to Salisbury cathedral in the early twelfth century.[209]

Even during the Conqueror's lifetime, the system designed for recovering royal minsters granted to chaplains was evidently under strain, and after his death it seems to have been still less rigidly enforced. Having been granted the secular college at Wolverhampton, Samson of Bayeux gave it to the prior and monks of Worcester after he became bishop there in 1096.[210] Osbern of Exeter also succeeded in attaching his large and valuable estate of Bosham to his bishopric, as his predecessor Leofric had done with Bampton in Oxfordshire.[211] These kinds of alienations were not a new phenomenon. Indeed they were part of a long process of decline suffered by English minsters from the late ninth century, which saw them fall victim to aristocratic intrusion, conversion into more fashionable Benedictine or Augustinian foundations, and annexation to cathedrals as prebends.[212] Nevertheless, in terms of the relationship between minster churches and the royal chapel, the death of William I emerges as a potentially significant turning point.

With fewer royal churches available as sources of patronage, kings increasingly had to rely on the vicarious patronage of others. Persuading bishops to grant cathedral prebends to favoured clerks became an increasingly

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[209] *Domesday Book: Wiltshire*, 1,23g; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Salisbury*, p. 78.
[210] J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 41; and for William I's initial grant to Samson, see Bates, *Regesta*, no. 265.
[211] For Osbern's manor of Bosham, see Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 190–1; Baxter and Lewis, 'Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', pp. 227–9; for Bampton, see *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 13, Bampton Hundred* (London, Victoria County History, 1996), pp. 25–6.
[212] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Chapter 6.

common way for kings to provide for their chaplains in the late eleventh and into the twelfth century.[213] Over the longer term, it is possible that this increasing reliance on episcopal largesse was one of the contributory factors to the gradual shift in the composition of the episcopate from the end of Henry I's reign, with the proportion of royal clerks diminishing and the number of cathedral dignitaries and products of cathedral schools on the rise.[214] If bishops were commonly expected to provide for the patronage needs of royal chaplains, they may also have been increasingly active in lobbying the king to promote their nephews and protégés in return. This might help to explain the promotion, late in Henry I's reign, of three of Roger of Salisbury's nephews and one of the king's own, ahead of the royal chancellor Geoffrey Rufus, as highlighted by Christelow.[215]

In terms of ecclesiastical institutions and the relationship between the royal chapel and the episcopate, the reign of William I was a period of relative continuity with that of Edward the Confessor, one which witnessed an intensification of previous practices, rather than a radical overhaul. William continued to promote royal chaplains, in greater numbers and with less opposition than his predecessor, continued to reward them with the headship of minsters, and seems to have made a concerted effort to maintain control over these churches and to recover them after the death of their incumbents.

[213] Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 263.
[214] Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 318.
[215] Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops', pp. 67–8.

In terms of personnel, however, the 1070s were a dramatic turning point, with the replacement of those English prelates whom the king considered to be politically unreliable, or who were too deeply embedded in the provincial aristocracies of the late Anglo-Saxon period, with carefully chosen men from the Continent. The professional qualifications of the new appointees recommended them to the king and they tended not to have familial connections which would compromise their loyalty.

Trust and loyalty were extremely important to William, in his ecclesiastical appointments as much as elsewhere.[216] His earlier experiences with his uncle, Archbishop Mauger of Rouen, may have made him especially wary of enlisting the services of prelates who were also great secular magnates. The Conquest of England and the depositions of the 1070s allowed him to construct a new and utterly reliable episcopate, almost from scratch, and it would have been with this in mind that he filled the royal chapel with men who had the potential to make good bishops. Those chaplains who served the king in England must have been with him habitually, probably more often than anyone else apart from the queen, and he seems to have selected them with great care. For the most part, they were Normans, but he was not averse to appointing men from further afield, especially those who had connections to the diocese of Liège; and indeed his Lotharingian appointees had the advantage of remaining outside the complex factional and familial politics of the native English or Norman aristocracies.[217]

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[216] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 12–3, 86, 223, 268, 358.

[217] See Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 36–41; for superiority of Lotharingian cathedral schools to Norman ones see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, p. 17.

William's chapel was far from insular and the men he appointed to it, and to the episcopal bench, tended to be both highly educated and politically shrewd. Individuals such as Thomas of Bayeux, Robert the Lotharingian and William of Poitiers demonstrate that it was possible to be both a royal clerk and a scholar, a competent administrator and a student of the classics, mathematics, or astronomy. From the king's point of view, the most important consideration seems to have been appointing the most capable men he could acquire through the overlapping circles of patronage and influence he employed, all the while ensuring that he himself remained at the centre of those circles.

Chapter 2: Bishops in Local and National Government

By the end of his reign, William I had assembled an impressive episcopal bench in England, full of men of proven administrative abilities, many of whom had previously served as royal chaplains. Some of the Conqueror's appointments — Osmund of Salisbury, for instance, or Walkelin of Winchester — were men of national standing in royal administration and government. Others, such as Stigand of Selsey/Chichester or Giso, the pre-Conquest survivor at Wells, were figures whose political interests were mostly confined to their own dioceses. In addition to these members of the English episcopate, the king also relied heavily on two bishops of Norman dioceses, his half-brother Odo of Bayeux (until his imprisonment in 1082 or 1083) and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.[1] These men exercised almost vice-regal authority at times during William's reign, as too did Archbishop Lanfranc.[2] In 1075, when the three earls, Roger of Hereford, Ralph of East Anglia, and Waltheof of Northumbria rebelled against the king while he was overseas in Normandy, it was Lanfranc who took charge of marshalling royal forces.[3] Meanwhile, John of Worcester informs us that the ageing Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester led an army which prevented two of the rebellious earls from joining forces near the Severn.[4]

In administrative, judicial and military affairs, William I often relied on his bishops, who must have worked hard to balance their local, regional and

[1] H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 223–35, p. 223; for more on Odo and Geoffrey, see Chapter 5 below, pp. 255–6.
[2] David Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1982), 1–12, p. 2.
[3] Craig M. Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders in Anglo-Norman England: 1066–1154', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 12 (2014), 51–80, pp. 58–9.
[4] Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders', p. 60.

national responsibilities. This chapter explores how the bishops of the Conqueror's reign managed to pivot between their local obligations and their duties in royal administration at the centre. It asks what royal writs can reveal about episcopal participation in justice and government in the localities, particularly the role of bishops in presiding over the shire court, and considers how that participation varied according to time and place. It analyses changing patterns of episcopal landholding in certain dioceses as evidence of potential shifts in the political focus of the incumbent bishops. Finally it concludes that practices in this period were not fixed, but were contingent upon specific institutional and political circumstances.

Bishops in local government

The Conqueror inherited a kingdom in which the shire was already established as the 'normal territorial subdivision' for administrative and fiscal purposes, except in the far North.[5] Its court was of fundamental importance in local government. The principle that the shire court should meet twice a year was enshrined in the mid-tenth century in the Andover law code of King Edgar, which also specified that the bishop and the ealdorman of the shire should preside over the assembly, as representatives of sacred and secular law respectively.[6] This code also decreed that no one should take a plea to the king

[5] H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p. 137. For the probable chronology of the shiring of different regions in the tenth and eleventh centuries see also George Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 155–71.
[6] F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1903), III Ed, 5.1–5.2.

unless his own lord had refused, or been unable, to do right by him.[7] This provision was expanded during the reign of King Cnut, whose surviving law code stipulated that a man might not take his plea to the shire court until he had demanded justice three times in the hundred court, and must never take any dispute to the king's court which could be resolved in a lower court.[8]

Pre-Conquest law codes therefore suggest that an apparently well-defined hierarchy of courts already existed in England by the mid-eleventh century, though in practice it might not always have been readily apparent where a case ought to be resolved.[9] The possibility of ambiguity is revealed in Patrick Wormald's discussion of a dispute in 990 between a nobleman, Leofwine, and a noblewoman, Wynflæd, over lands in Berkshire, the account of which is preserved in its original form in a Canterbury chirograph.[10] In this instance, Wynflæd wished to take her case directly to the king but Leofwine insisted upon it being heard in the shire court of Berkshire. Eventually the shire court was convened to hear the plea, Bishops Æthelsige of Sherborne and Æscwig of Dorchester presided, the king sent his seal with the abbot of Bath, and Wynflæd ultimately won. The case illustrates the successful functioning of an Anglo-Saxon shire court, but also how, despite the promulgation of royal law codes, there might still be some confusion as to whether it was the correct

[7] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, III Ed, 2–2.1.
[8] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II Cn, 17–19.1.
[9] Tom Lambert, *Law and Order in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 263–8, stresses the prevalence of procedural uncertainty in Anglo-Saxon legal disputes and the absence of a rigid hierarchy of courts.
[10] Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, Volume I: Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 151–2.

forum for certain disputes to be aired. It is also striking that the account of this plea records two bishops presiding, without an ealdorman.

It has become something of a commonplace that every free man in a shire was nominally obliged to attend the shire court during the Anglo-Saxon period.[11] Yet the earliest surviving codification of this principle is in fact in a writ of Henry I, from 1108. This writ concerns county and hundred courts, and states that 'I desire and instruct that all men of the county should go to the county court and to the hundred, just as they did in the time of King Edward' ('volo et precipio ut omnes de comitatu eant ad comitatus et hundreta, sicut fecerunt in tempore regis Edwardi').[12] Despite the reference to practice in the time of King Edward, there is no surviving Anglo-Saxon writ or law code which makes such a provision. It is perhaps safer, therefore, to suggest that, by the time of the Conquest, all free men might have been *entitled* to attend the biannual meetings of the shire court, even if they were not required to do so. There were certainly incentives for men to attend, since the court performed a wide variety of judicial and social functions.[13] It was a forum for litigation, certainly, but also a place where arrangements were made for the collection of geld, where men might be outlawed, where business transactions might occur, or marriages be arranged.[14] It was thus in the interests of every landholder,

[11] See, for example, Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 138; Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 159; David E. Thornton, 'Localities', *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500 - 1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Chichester: Blackwell, 2009), 446–59, p. 449.
[12] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, Hn Com 4.
[13] Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 138.
[14] Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 139; Ann Williams, *The World Before Domesday: The English Aristocracy 900–1066* (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 55.

great or small, to be in attendance at the court, or at least to make sure he was represented there.

Despite the centrality of the shire court to Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman government in the localities, however, it is difficult to obtain a complete picture of how the institution functioned in practice during the turbulent years after 1066. Two possible facets of its operation are presented in contrasting, but not incompatible, reconstructions by Richard Sharpe and Nicholas Karn. In his pioneering 2003 article on 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', Sharpe gave a clear account of how a writ-charter might have been requested and obtained by a beneficiary, delivered to the shire court and there read aloud to the assembled company, before being returned to the beneficiary, who could choose whether to retain the document. [15] The process Sharpe envisaged was a sophisticated and systematic one, initiated at the request of beneficiaries but firmly controlled and directed by royal government at the centre.

Karn, by contrast, presented shire courts as potentially chaotic forums which 'were not designed for the efficient processing of business sent to them from on high, but rather seem often to have found decision-making difficult. Their importance does not derive from their usefulness to kings, as a means of imposing policy and decisions, but from their usefulness in debate.' [16] Elsewhere Karn refers to the 'sheer vagueness of royal writs and writ-charters' and how

[15] Richard Sharpe, 'The use of writs in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 247–91, pp. 251–3.
[16] Nicholas Karn, 'Centralism and local government in medieval England: constitutional history and assembly politics, 950-1300', *History Compass*, 10 (2012), 742–51, p. 747.

they might have 'generate[d] dissension' and given rise to a 'cacophony of voices' in the course of resolving a dispute.[17]

It is possible to reconcile these interpretations to some extent. We may accept that kings had a sophisticated administrative mechanism at their disposal, in the shape of writs and writ-charters, while also recognising that the institutions to which documents were directed might sometimes have operated in a rather unruly fashion. It is also probable that a good deal of routine business was carried out smoothly and uneventfully in local assemblies, but has left no trace in narrative accounts and documentary archives concerned with recording and preserving the exceptional. Nevertheless, the tension between the two readings may reflect an actual tension in the shire courts of the eleventh century, between the governmental objectives of the king on the one hand and political circumstances on the ground in the localities on the other.

The Conqueror's reign was an important period in the development of the shire court, with the loss of many of the earldoms which had characterised the political geography of pre-Conquest England. From the middle of the tenth century until the reign of Edward the Confessor, bishops and ealdormen or earls had habitually presided over the court together.[18] They were 'the twin pillars on which the public government of the king was based'.[19] The old Anglo-Saxon earldoms did not disappear entirely after the Conquest, nor were all of their English incumbents immediately removed. Waltheof retained his position

[17] Nicholas Karn, 'Information and its retrieval', *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 373–80.
[18] Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 139; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, III Ed, 5.2; II Cn, 18.1.
[19] Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England: 1042-1216* (New York: Routledge, 5th edition 1999), p. 27.

as Earl of Northumbria during the early years of William's reign and elsewhere the king installed some of his most trusted servants in frontier earldoms which were vital to the defence of the kingdom: his half-brother Odo in Kent, William fitzOsbern in Hereford, Hugh d'Avranches in Chester and Roger de Montgomery in Shrewsbury.[20] Nevertheless, English earldoms diminished in number and altered in nature over the ensuing decades. No longer was every county and every shire court necessarily presided over by an earl, as they had been during Edward the Confessor's reign. Both Judith Green and H. R. Loyn have suggested that the disappearance of earls from the shire court after the Conquest provided new opportunities for sheriffs to step into the political and judicial vacuum left behind.[21] This might help to explain the unusual wealth and social status of William I's sheriffs, relative to those of his predecessors and successors, who tended to be men of more moderate standing.[22]

Where earls vanished, however, bishops continued to appear, presiding over meetings of the shire court long after their secular counterparts had ceased to do so. They occur occasionally in narratives of shire court pleas, such as an account in a Sandwich custumal of an 1127 dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and the men of the abbot of St Augustine's, concerning their respective rights at Stonar and Sandwich, which mentions the presence of John, bishop of Rochester, at the court.[23] Such narrative references

[20] C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 207–24, p. 215.
[21] Judith Green, *English sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks, no. 24 (1990), p. 12; Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 196.
[22] Green, *English Sheriffs*, pp. 15–6.
[23] *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, ed. R. C. Van Caenegem, Publications of the Selden Society, 106 (London: Selden Society, 1990), no. 254.

are rare, however, and most of the evidence for episcopal involvement in the shire court comes instead from contemporary royal writs, and especially their address clauses. It is these documents which form the primary corpus of evidence for this analysis of bishops' roles in shire assemblies.

I have followed Richard Sharpe in defining a writ as a short document in epistolary form, authenticated by the king's seal and containing a notification or injunction, and a writ-charter as 'a writ addressed by the king to the officers and suitors of the shire court', which granted or confirmed land or rights.[24] Sometimes, however, the label 'writs' is applied generally to all the *acta* of William I which survive in epistolary form, even where some of the documents referred to ought really to be classified as writ-charters according to Sharpe's definition.

The origins of the writ in England may lie as far back as the ninth century. In her edition of *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, F. E. Harmer drew attention to the 'sealed letter (*ærendgewrit and insegel*), spoken of by King Alfred', as evidence of the form's antiquity.[25] By the late tenth century, the writ was habitually used by Anglo-Saxon kings, alongside more formal diplomas, though the earliest surviving examples date from the reign of Cnut in the early eleventh century.[26] The reign of Edward the Confessor saw the proliferation of writs, which supplanted the diploma as the most commonly issued type of royal *actum*.[27] Table XXVI (3) of Simon Keynes' *Atlas of Attestations* clearly reveals the decline

[24] Sharpe, 'The use of writs in the eleventh century', pp. 249–50.
[25] F. E. Harmer, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 3.
[26] Charles Insley, 'Where Did All the Charters Go?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 24 (2002), 109–28, p. 121.
[27] Insley, 'Where Did All the Charters Go?', p. 121.

of the diploma form from its mid-tenth-century peak under Eadwig and Edgar, to the far more limited numbers which survive from the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor.[28] After the Conquest royal diplomas in favour of English beneficiaries all but vanished, although they continued to be issued by William I to Continental houses, in continuation of Norman diplomatic tradition.[29]

By contrast, the writ flourished and performed an increasing range of functions, especially after about 1070.[30] A number of supposed writs of William I are in fact forgeries dating from the mid twelfth century onwards, especially at the abbeys of Westminster and Battle. These archives both contain spurious single sheets in hands of the mid to late twelfth century and other diplomatically suspect writs in thirteenth-century cartularies.[31] The eagerness of twelfth-century forgers to produce counterfeit royal writs, as well as spurious diplomas, demonstrates that writs were considered important enough to be worth forging.

The writs upon which this chapter draws are those edited by David Bates in his *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*. Excluding the diplomas which lack an address clause, this leaves a group of 171 documents which may be classed as writs or writ-charters. Thirty-one are outright forgeries.[32] A further

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[28] Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, C.670–1066* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 1995), Table XXVI (3).
[29] See, for example, *'Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* ed. David Bates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), nos. 26–30, in favour of the cathedral of Bayeux, the church of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, the church of Saint-Léonard at Bellême and the abbey of Notre-Dame at Bernay.
[30] *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100*, ed. T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. xiii.
[31] Bates, *Regesta*. nos. 19, 22, 23, 25, 308, 312, 331 are the purported originals and nos. 17, 20, 20a, 301, 302, 304, 316–322 the suspect cartulary copies.
[32] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 17, 19–20a, 22, 23, 25, 99, 100, 104, 109, 114, 152, 293, 294, 298, 301, 302, 304, 308, 312, 316–22, 327, 328, 331.

eighteen are potentially spurious.[33] Even forged charters, however, often included material copied from genuine *acta* in their protocols and witness lists, so these suspect documents are sometimes considered alongside those whose authenticity is not in dispute.[34] The writs are analysed for the individuals or groups to whom they are addressed and their language of composition. Where they convey property or rights, the shires in which such grants are located are noted, to see how far they correspond with the territorial interests of the addressees.

Table 4, below, reveals some general patterns in the number of addressees for the 140 surviving documents which are either certainly or possibly genuine. It breaks these down into groups according to the number of named addressees who appear in each address clause, and whether these named individuals appear alone, or are accompanied by other groups of addressees: 'all his other faithful men of the whole kingdom of England' (*omnibus aliis fidelibus suis totius regni Anglie*),[35] for example, or 'all the king's thegns in Kent' (*ealle þæs kinges þegenas on Cænt*),[36] or 'the other barons of Lincolnshire' (*aliis baronibus de Lincolnescire*).[37]

[33] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 13–16, 39, 76, 77, 79, 105, 131, 133, 226, 228, 277, 332, 333, 335, 342.
[34] See Ben Snook, *The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: The History, Language and Production of Anglo-Saxon Charters from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 14–5; Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 185–222, pp. 198–9; Simon Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Royal Diplomas', *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Brian W. Schneider (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 17–182, p. 133.
[35] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 4.
[36] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 74.
[37] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 315.

Table 4: Numbers of persons addressed in the writs of William I

Number of named addressees	*Number of surviving writs*	
	With additional groups of addressees	*Without additional groups of addressees*
None	37	0
One	20	7
Two	36	9
Three	12	7
Four	7	0
Five	3	1
Nine	1	0

The most common kinds of address clause are revealed to be those which contain only groups of persons, varying in their specificity, with no named individuals, and those where two named individuals appear alongside one or more unnamed groups.[38] The maximum number of named addressees in a single writ is the nine who appear in a confirmation of the rights of Bishop Walkelin of Winchester (1070 × 1087).[39] The minimum, excluding those writs addressed only to groups, are the seven examples of a single named addressee appearing alone.[40] Above all, the impression which emerges from the address clauses of William I's writs is one of variation, with practices far from standardised. Groups and individuals in late-eleventh-century landed society

[38] Richard Sharpe, 'Address and Delivery in Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 32–52, pp. 45–6, has noted that forms of general address appeared under William I but that they were very variable.

[39] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 339.

[40] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 7, 44, 126–7, 131, 288, 343.

appear in a wide variety of combinations and sometimes it can be difficult to identify for certain the office which a particular addressee held. Gamel, son of Osbeorht, for example, appears alongside Earl Morcar in a Latin translation of an Old English writ of 1067 × 1069 in favour of Beverley Minster.[41] Gamel was probably, therefore, the sheriff of Yorkshire at this date but this writ is our only evidence that he occupied the office.[42] It is unlikely, but not inconceivable, that he was addressed simply in his capacity as a significant local landholder.[43] This variation and occasional uncertainty notwithstanding, it is possible to provide some general figures for the proportion of surviving writs featuring different kinds of people.

Of all the office holders present in the address clauses of William I's *acta*, bishops appear in the greatest numbers. Ninety of the 140 documents tabulated above include a bishop or bishops among their addressees. The proportion of authentic, or potentially authentic, writs addressed to bishops is therefore a little under two-thirds, at 64.3%. Sheriffs are the second most prolific group, with eighty-four appearances. Earls appear thirty-seven times, and two early writs, in favour of the abbeys of Bath and Westminster, include stallers among their addressees, apparently taking the place of the earl. [44]

Bishops, then, appear in a majority of extant writs of William I, though by no means in all. Several factors may have affected the likelihood of a bishop being among the addressees of any given writ. In some cases he may have been

[41] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 32.
[42] Green, *English Sheriffs*, p. 89.
[43] 'Gamel, 18, son of Osbeorht', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/Domesday?op=5&personkey=54754> (Accessed 11.01.17).
[44] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 11, 296.

omitted from a document because it detailed a grant, or the outcome of a plea, which ran contrary to episcopal interests and which the bishop in question might therefore have wished to obstruct. Such may be the case in a writ of 1081, addressed to Roger Bigod, the sheriff of Norfolk, and 'all [the king's] other faithful men' (*ceterisque omnibus fidelibus suis*), notifying them of the resolution of the long running dispute between Bishop Herfast of Thetford and the abbot of Bury St Edmunds.[45] The king informed the sheriff that he and his leading magnates had heard the case and decided *unanimiter* in favour of Abbot Baldwin, and ordered that the bishop should make no further claims upon the church of St Edmund. Bishop Herfast must have been informed of the outcome of this plea, if indeed he was not present when the decision was made, and a separate writ instructing him to abandon his claims to Bury may also have been issued in 1081. In the context of a protracted and acrimonious dispute such as this one, however, it makes sense that the sheriff alone should be addressed here and that the king should charge him, as a neutral party and royal representative, with enforcing the outcome.

On the other hand, there are those documents where the bishop himself, or his cathedral church, was the beneficiary. This did not necessarily preclude him from also being an addressee, as a grant of houses and customs in Sandwich to Christ Church, Canterbury, addressed to Archbishop Lanfranc, demonstrates.[46] It did however, make it less likely. Forty authentic or potentially authentic writs in favour of episcopal beneficiaries survive, of which twenty-one include a bishop among their addressees. This means that 52.5% of

[45] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 40.
[46] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 72.

extant grants to episcopal beneficiaries mention bishops in their address clauses, compared to 64.3% for all beneficiaries. Of the twenty-one writs where bishops do appear, six are addressed to the beneficiary bishop,[47] seven more generally to 'episcopis' or 'archiepiscopis',[48] four to the bishop of the diocese where the land being granted was located,[49] and a final four to a named bishop who is neither the beneficiary nor the diocesan for the shire in which the grant was made.[50]

Of these categories it is perhaps the last group which is most interesting, demonstrating as it does the part that might be played by bishops in the local politics and administration of areas beyond the boundaries of their own dioceses. Two of these writs are addressed to Archbishop Lanfranc. In the first, he appears in one of two documents dealing with the grant of Bishop's Stortford castle in Hertfordshire to Maurice, bishop of London, in what is otherwise a general address to 'all his bishops and barons and faithful men, both French and English' (*omnibus episcopis et baronibus et fidelibus suis francigenis et angligenis*).[51] The second is an instruction by the king to Lanfranc and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, to settle a dispute over sake and soke between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham.[52] The important administrative role played by Lanfranc and Geoffrey, and also by Odo of Bayeux and sometimes Robert, count of Mortain, is discussed in greater detail below.[53]

[47] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 71–2, 74, 339–40, 346.
[48] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 66, 79, 184, 191, 228, 337–8.
[49] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 116, 226, 341, 352.
[50] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 189–90, 347, 350.
[51] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 190.
[52] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 347.
[53] See below, pp. 115–7, 119, 138.

It could be argued that there is nothing especially remarkable about a writ being directed to an archdiocesan in cases where the diocesan bishop was either the beneficiary of a grant or involved in a dispute in need of resolution. Two other writs, however, demonstrate that, in exceptional circumstances, ordinary diocesan bishops might be addressed about business which had nothing to do with their own dioceses. Both are connected with that most extraordinary of events: the Domesday survey.

One is a writ of Geoffrey of Coutances, acting in a vice-regal capacity, and addressed to Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, alongside Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrières and Adam (fitzHubert), informing them of the outcome of the plea concerning the soke of Bengeworth, disputed between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham.[54] This writ is undoubtedly connected with the role of these men as Domesday commissioners for the West Midlands circuit, which is recorded in an account of a Worcestershire Domesday session in the late-eleventh-century Hemming's Cartulary, alongside the text of the writ itself.[55] The function of this document was not to effect a grant or settlement in itself, but to provide the commissioners with information which was of use to them in the performance of their commission. Hemming makes it clear that it was not directed to a routine meeting of the shire court but to an extraordinary assembly which occurred at the time 'when the king ordered the whole of England to be described'.[56]

[54] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 350.
[55] Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits*, pp. 40–1; *Domesday Book: Worcestershire*, 'Appendix V'.
[56] Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits*, p. 41.

More difficult to ascertain is the context of a second writ dealing with the grant of Bishop's Stortford castle to Maurice of London.[57] The addressees here are Bishop Osmund of Salisbury, Robert d'Oilly, sheriff of Oxfordshire and perhaps Berkshire, and Peter de Valognes, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire. As David Bates noted in his commentary on the writ, 'only Peter de Valognes is obviously associated with counties in which the church of St Paul's, London, and its canons held lands'.[58] The grant of Stortford castle must have been made after Maurice's appointment as bishop at Christmas 1085 and presumably before King William's departure for France in the autumn of 1086. Great Domesday tells us that Maurice held six hides at Stortford, but makes no mention of the castle.[59] It is therefore possible that the grant was made some time during 1086, after the first stage of the survey was completed.[60]

The hypothesis proposed by H. R. Loyn in his 1988 article on 'William's Bishops', that Osmund of Salisbury might have served as a Domesday commissioner for Circuit III, would help to explain why the bishop is addressed in a writ dealing with property in Hertfordshire, which lay outside his diocese.[61] As a former royal chancellor, Osmund would have been well suited to the role of commissioner, and his presence in the counties north of London, where he and his cathedral chapter held no land, would have been in keeping with the account of Robert the Lotharingian, bishop of Hereford, of how, during the Domesday process, 'unknown persons were sent into unknown provinces'

[57] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 189.
[58] Bates, *Regesta*, p. 614.
[59] *Domesday Book: Hertfordshire*, 4,22.
[60] For more on Maurice and the grant of Bishop's Stortford Castle, see below, pp. 279–81.
[61] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 229.

(*ignoti ad ignotas mittebantur provincias*).[62] Robert d'Oilly might also seem like a possible candidate for Circuit III commissioner, since his holdings were concentrated in Oxfordshire.[63] The inclusion of Peter de Valognes, the sheriff of Hertfordshire, however, demonstrates that this is not an equivalent document to the writ of Geoffrey of Coutances addressed to the Worcestershire commissioners. Indeed, it does not seem to be an instruction specifically associated with the survey at all, though the grant it records may well have been directly connected to Domesday.

Moreover, the language of the writ is Old English rather than Latin, even some fifteen years after (as Richard Sharpe has suggested) 'the language of writs changed, and King William adopted Latin as the normal language of written communication with the institutions of the realm'.[64] As Sharpe also highlighted, however, the shire courts were still *operating* in English some forty years after the Conquest.[65] This may, therefore, be a rare surviving example of a once numerous body of Old English writs, which continued to be issued to shire courts after the apparent 1070 transition to Latin as the language of central government.

If this document is to be interpreted as a writ-charter designed to be read in the shire court, however, it raises questions about which shire is being

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[62] Text printed in W. H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *English Historical Review*, 12 (1907), 72–84; translated in 'Addition by Robert the Lotharingian to the chronicle of Marianus Scotus', *English Historical Documents, Volume II: 1042-1189*, ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway (London: Eyre Methuen, 2nd edn, 1981), no. 198, p. 1027. The translation above is mine.

[63] Judith Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 5 (1983), 129–45, p. 137.

[64] Richard Sharpe, 'Peoples and Languages in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Britain and Ireland: Reading the Charter Evidence', *The Reality Behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, ed. Dauvit Broun *et al*. (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 2011), 1–119, p. 2.

[65] Sharpe, 'Peoples and Languages', p. 13.

addressed, and why Bishop Osmund should appear to have presided over an assembly which must have occurred outside his own diocese and was not explicitly part of the Domesday survey. Is it possible that, as a consequence of the unavoidable upheaval that the survey must have caused, and the forced itinerancy of some of the most important men in the country, shire court meetings during the first half of 1086 might have been presided over by whichever ecclesiastical or secular magnates happened to be on hand?

In some cases, bishops are not among the addressees of a writ and yet their involvement in local administrative structures is apparent in other ways. A writ in favour of the newly established cathedral church of Lincoln, probably issued shortly after the transfer of the see from Dorchester in 1072, is addressed to 'Turold the sheriff and all the sheriffs of Bishop Remigius' bishopric' (*T[uraldo] vicecomiti o[mnibus]que vicecomitibus [epis]copatus Remigii episcopi*).[66] Rather than naming all the shires of Bishop Remigius' bishopric and their incumbent sheriffs individually, this writ groups them together under the jurisdiction of the bishop himself, rhetorically blurring the boundaries between shires and dioceses.

This conflation of dioceses with secular administrative units had a long pre-Conquest history, early Anglo-Saxon dioceses having been coterminous with existing kingdoms.[67] The close relationship between shires and dioceses during the reign of Edward the Confessor is demonstrated by a writ of Queen Edith in favour of Bishop Giso of Wells, granting land at Mark for the maintenance of the canons of St Andrew's, in which Giso is referred to as the

[66] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 177.
[67] Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 57–8.

bishop of Somerset.[68] This relationship clearly continued into the post-Conquest period, in spite of the ecclesiastical reforms of the 1070s and the translation of a number of sees. It is revealed in the account, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, of William de Beaufeu's election as bishop 'for Norfolk', rather than bishop of Thetford, at the synod which accompanied the king's Christmas court at Gloucester in 1085.[69]

Elsewhere Giso is explicitly described as performing an administrative function in the provinces, even though he is not among the addressees of the document in question. Preserved in the *Liber Albus* of Wells cathedral chapter, and possibly datable to 1080 × 1081, is a writ instructing Sheriff William de Courseulles to ensure that Peter's Pence was paid by Michaelmas, and requiring Bishop Giso to make enquiries concerning those who had not paid.[70] It also demanded that no one should take any pledge on Giso's lands before the matter had come before the bishop, presumably in the shire court. Like the writ addressed to Bishop Osmund concerning Bishop Maurice and the castle at Stortford, the William de Courseulles writ is in Old English, despite its potentially later date; further evidence that local government continued to operate partly in the vernacular for many years after the introduction of Latin as the language of central royal administration. The reference to Giso's involvement in the collection of Peter's Pence in this writ also suggests that

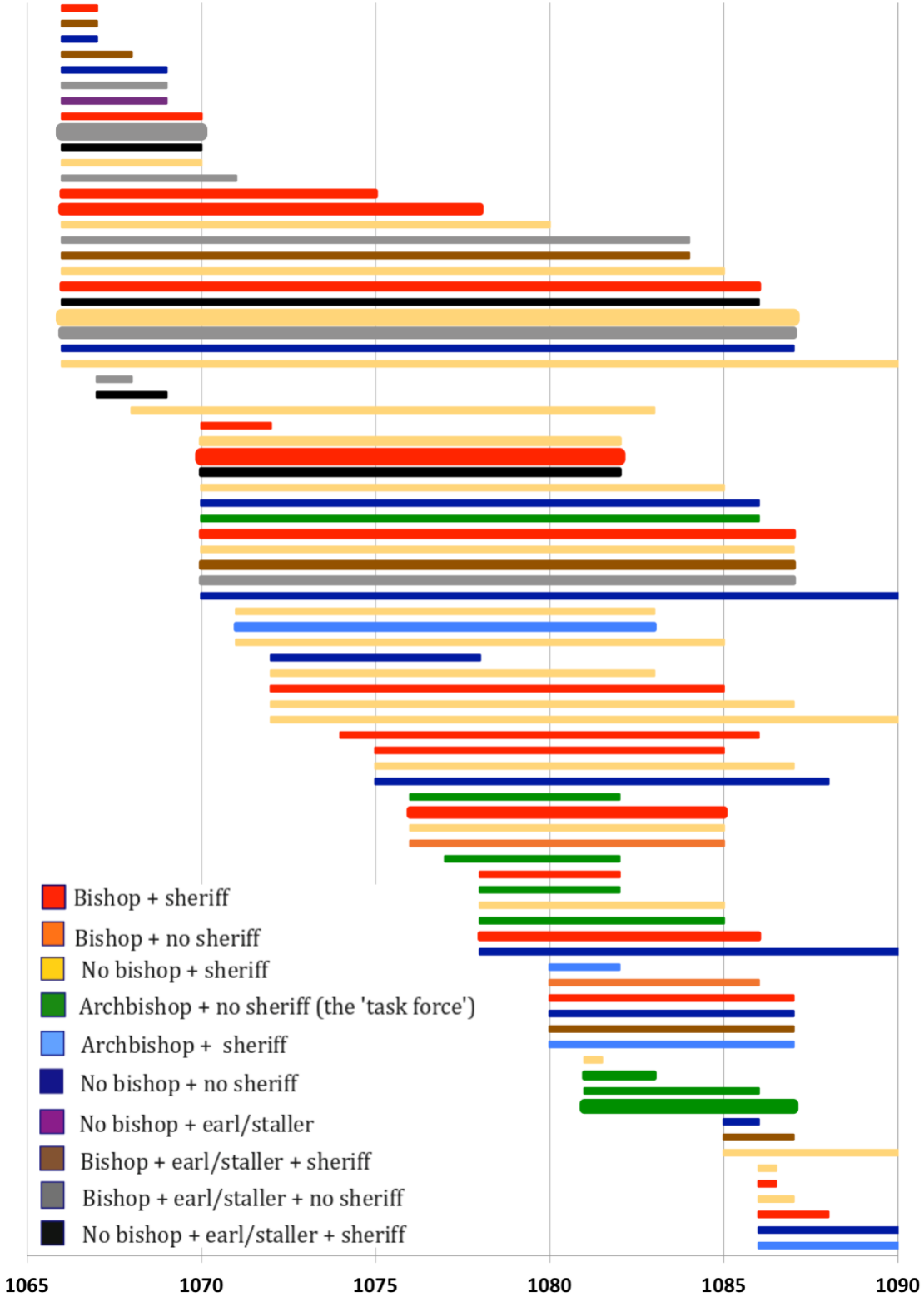
[68] S 1241; Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 72.
[69] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), (E) *s.a.* 1085, p. 161; for a contrasting picture of bishops in Continental Europe as administrators of territorial units based on cities rather than shires, see *L'espace du diocèse: Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident medieval (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. Florian Mazel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 11–21; Florian Mazel, *L'évêque et le territoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2016).
[70] Wells, Dean and Chapter, MS. R. I. (Liber Albus I), fol. 18r; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 288.

bishops might have been expected to perform similar administrative functions elsewhere, in relation to other royal writs containing instructions which were ostensibly addressed to sheriffs alone.

As has already been noted above, the reign of William I was an important transitional period, both in terms of the development of the shire court and in the use of royal writs as the primary instrument of government.[71] Yet the practices and personnel of Anglo-Saxon local government did not disappear at a stroke in 1066, and the ensuing decades saw elements of continuity as well as change. The chart in Figure 1 uses the date ranges provided in Bates' *Regesta* for all the writs of William I which are certainly authentic, to demonstrate how the groups to whom those writs were addressed changed over the course of the Conqueror's reign. Every bar represents a writ, or writs, issued within a particular date range. The colour of the bars relates to the different categories of addressees, as indicated by the key, while their thickness indicates whether a bar represents a single writ or multiple documents of the same type. The thinnest bars each represent a single document. The thicker the bar, the more documents of a given type from a given date range survive.

[71] See above, pp. 93–102.

Figure 1: Chronological distribution of address clause formulae



To take one example; on the left-hand side of the chart there are four separate bars covering the date range 1066 × 1070, one red, one grey, one black and one yellow. The red, black and yellow bars are each of a thickness which denotes a single writ, addressed respectively to a bishop and sheriff, an earl or staller and sheriff, and a sheriff alone.[72] The grey bar meanwhile is five times as thick as the other two, indicating that there are five writs within this date range which are addressed to a bishop and an earl or staller, without a sheriff.[73] Together, these four bars indicate that there are eight surviving writs of William I which were issued between 1066 and 1070.

There are some inherent issues with assessing the chronological development of the Conqueror's writs in this way. First, there is the problem of documents with very wide dating limits. In some cases it is not even possible to ascertain whether a writ was issued by William I or William II (these are the bars which extend to the right-hand edge of the chart beyond 1087).[74] Even when the identity of the king who issued a document is certain, however, the writs with wide dating limits are of little use in assessing changes in diplomatic practice over time. Moreover, the categorisation of addressees into clear-cut groups is rather a blunt instrument, which reduces all the subtleties of a document like the Bishop's Stortford writ addressed to Bishop Osmund and Robert d'Oilly to a single red bar indicating an apparently ordinary 'bishop and sheriff' address clause.

[72] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 296–7, 299. Note that no. 296 is one of only two surviving writs of William I to include a staller among the addressees.
[73] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 35–8, 291.
[74] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 6, 7, 44, 116, 178, 186, 228, 273, 278, 336, 352.

Nevertheless, the chart does help to illuminate some patterns in the groups of people to whom the Conqueror's writs were addressed. For example, the grey, brown, black and purple bars all represent writs which include earls or stallers among their addressees, indicating the persistence of more traditional shire court structures inherited from the pre-Conquest period. It is unsurprising, therefore, to see that these colours feature more prominently on the left-hand side of the chart during the earlier part of William's reign. Where there are long grey or brown bars, indicating documents with a wide range of potential dates, featuring earls among their addressees, it is reasonable to assume that they are more likely to have been issued towards the earlier end of the spectrum of possible dates. Red and yellow, the two most prominent colours on the chart, represent writs addressed respectively to bishops and sheriffs, and sheriffs alone. These were to continue as the most common configurations of officials in the address clauses of royal writs into the twelfth century.[75]

If red and yellow bars represent the norm for royal practice in this period, blue, indigo, and especially green bars indicate something out of the ordinary. Green signifies those writs which are addressed to some combination of Archbishop Lanfranc, Geoffrey of Coutances and, less frequently, Odo of Bayeux and Robert, count of Mortain. This select group of men were William's closest advisors and most capable administrators. At least until the disgrace and imprisonment of Odo in 1082 or 1083, each of them stood right at the heart of the king's council. Two, Odo and Robert, were his half-brothers. Three,

[75] Of the ninety-four surviving royal *acta* in favour of Abbot Faritius of Abingdon (1100–1117), twenty-six are addressed to a sheriff (or sheriffs) and twenty-nine to a bishop and a sheriff. See 'Abingdon Abbey', 'Charters of William II and Henry I Project', ed. Richard Sharpe, <http://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com> (Accessed 18.11.17).

strikingly, were bishops, though only one presided over an English diocese. At different times both Odo and Geoffrey issued writs on behalf of the king, acting in an effectively vice-regal capacity.[76]

William seems to have employed this 'task force' of powerful and experienced men in situations which were too urgent, complex or delicate to be resolved through the usual channels of local government. Such is the case in a series of writs in favour of the abbey of Ely, addressed variously to Lanfranc, Geoffrey of Coutances and Robert of Mortain and datable to 1081 × 1087, during which period the abbey was in dispute with Bishop Remigius of Lincoln over customs claimed by Remigius in the Isle of Ely.[77] Sometimes members of the 'task force' were explicitly charged with resolving disputes over jurisdiction between bishops and neighbouring abbeys, as in a Worcester writ of 1078 × 1085 demanding that Lanfranc and Geoffrey settle a disagreement between Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester and Abbot Walter of Evesham and specifying that Geoffrey should preside in place of the king.[78] In other cases, there are writs which do not directly address a dispute but still refer to circumstances which have arisen because of it, such as an instruction that the abbey of Ely should be reseised of various lands in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Essex.[79]

The preponderance of 'task force' writs issued during the later years of William's reign, as indicated by the amount of green on the right hand side of the chart, might seem to support Nicholas Karn's suggestion that the shire court was rather an unwieldy forum for resolving disputes, structured as it was to

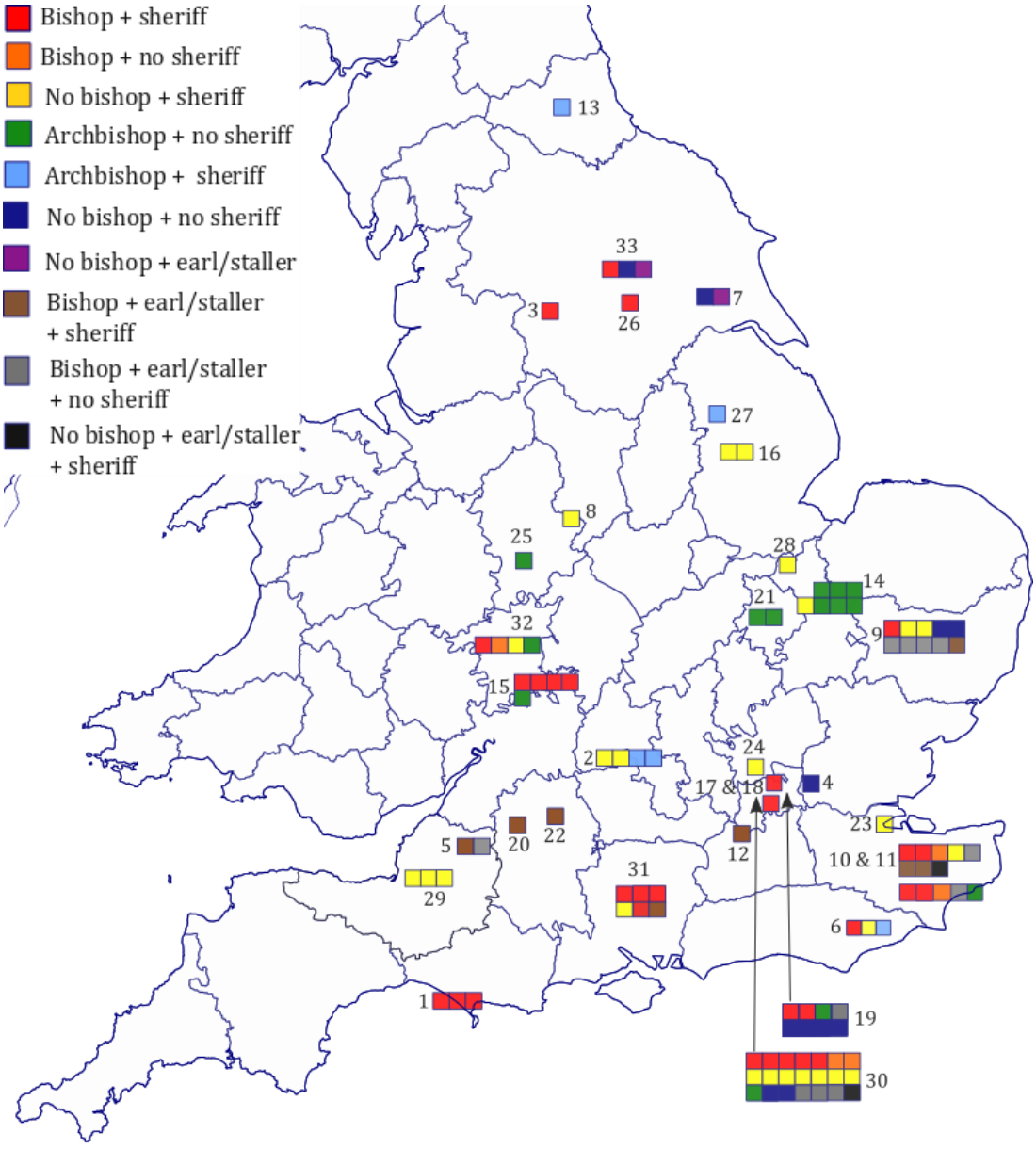
[76] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 71, 74, 85, 135, 350; Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', p. 2.
[77] Bates, *Regesta*, nos, 119–21, 123–7.
[78] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 347.
[79] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 121.

facilitate debate more than decision.[80] It may have become increasingly apparent to the king that the shire courts, so well adapted to the routine business of eleventh-century government, were not fully equipped to deal with some of the more protracted and complex disputes which arose in the turbulent years after the Conquest. It is a testament both to William's political judgement and to the flexibility and utility of the writ as an instrument of royal government, that he was able to counter extraordinary circumstances with specific instructions to some of his most powerful and competent men.

Nevertheless, as the variation in colours across the chart demonstrates, different types of writ with different groups of addressees continued to coexist throughout the Conqueror's reign. Traditional practices continued, probably more widely than surviving documents would suggest. The Old English writ concerning the grant of Stortford castle to Maurice of London may not have been issued to a conventional meeting of the shire court but it was clearly directed towards some kind of assembly operating in the vernacular, despite the fact that the three named addressees were all Normans.[81] It seems almost certain that more vernacular documents like the Stortford writ have been lost and that the surviving impression of Anglo-Norman administration is therefore skewed towards new and innovative forms and practices, at the expense of older and more conservative ones.

[80] Karn, 'Centralism and local government, p. 747.
[81] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 189.

Map 1: Geographical distribution of address clause formulae



1. Abbotsbury
2. Abingdon
3. Count Alan (Clifton)
4. Barking
5. Bath
6. Battle
7. Beverley
8. Burton
9. Bury St Edmund's
10. Canterbury, Christ Church
11. Canterbury, St Augustine's
12. Chertsey
13. Durham
14. Ely
15. Evesham
16. Lincoln
17. London, City of
18. London, St-Martin-le-Grand
19. London, St Paul's
20. Malmesbury
21. Ramsey
22. Regenbald
23. Rochester
24. St Albans
25. Samson (Wolverhampton)
26. Selby
27. Stow, St Mary's
28. Thorney
29. Wells
30. Westminster
31. Winchester, Cathedral
32. Worcester
33. York

Geographically the picture is also rather fractured and uneven, as Map 1, above, demonstrates. The different coloured squares indicate different kinds of address clause, with each square representing a single writ. The numbers next to each group of squares correspond with the list of beneficiary institutions below the map. In the rare instances when an individual, rather than an institution, was the beneficiary, I have placed the relevant square in the location of the estate being granted.

In the South East and East Anglia, a wide variety of different forms are employed. There is an Old English confirmation of the sake and soke of Christ Church, Canterbury, over all its lands (1070 × 1087), addressed non-specifically to 'my bishops and my earls and my sheriffs and all my thegns, French and English' (*mine biscopes 7 mine eorlas 7 mine [ge]refan 7 ealle mine þegenas frecisce 7 ænglisce*);[82] an early example of a general Latin address to 'all his faithful men, French and English' (*omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis*) in a confirmation of the rights of the canons of St Paul's (1072 × 1078); [83] the 1081 notification, addressed to Roger Bigod alone, about the outcome of the dispute between Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds and Bishop Herfast of Thetford;[84] and the series of Ely writs, issued between 1081 and 1087, which are addressed to William's 'task force'.

Further west, there is slightly more evidence for the continuity of offices and practices, at least during the early part of the Conqueror's reign. For example, there are two surviving references to stallers in the address clauses of

[82] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 66.
[83] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 185
[84] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 40.

William's charters. One is in a grant of Charlcombe in Somerset to Bath Abbey, addressed to Bishop Giso, Eadnoth the staller and Tofi the sheriff, and datable to 1066 × 1068 .[85] The other is in a grant to Westminster abbey, but of property in Oxfordshire, and therefore addressed to officials of the Oxfordshire shire court, Bondi the staller and Sæweald the sheriff.[86] The absence of a bishop here could indicate a date late in 1067, after the death of Bishop Wulfwig of Dorchester and before the appointment of Remigius.[87] Another Westminster document confirms the abbey's possession of Perton in Staffordshire and is addressed to Bishop Leofwine of Lichfield and Earl Edwin of Mercia (1066 × 1071).[88] Meanwhile a writ of 1066 × 1067 granting the manors of Eysey and Latton in Wiltshire to Regenbald 'mina preost' is addressed to Bishop Hermann of Sherborne, Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, Eustace of Boulogne — described as 'eorl', meaning count in this context — and Eadric and Brihtric, respectively sheriff of Wiltshire and a major landholder in Gloucestershire.[89]

The persistence of Old English and of pre-Conquest personnel in post-Conquest writs is not exclusive to western England. At Bury St Edmunds in East Anglia, in spite of the diplomatic innovations found in the region during William's reign, there also survive four writs issued in the vernacular, three of which are addressed to Bishop Æthelmær and Earl Ralph (1066 × 1070).[90] Moreover, all of the documents described above as containing features which reflect specifically pre-Conquest practice date from early in William's reign. It is

[85] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 11.
[86] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 296.
[87] For a discussion of the date see Bates, *Regesta*, p. 890.
[88] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 292.
[89] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 223.
[90] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 36–8.

quite possible that they were all issued before 1070. In practice, therefore, it may not have taken many more years for older patterns of local government to break down in the West of England than in the East.

Nevertheless, the appearance of traditional diplomatic forms in the western shires is in keeping with the continued use of Old English as an administrative language in the region, well into the twelfth century.[91] It may be that the survival of the pre-Conquest bishops, Giso of Wells, Wulfstan of Worcester, Hermann of Ramsbury/Sherborne and Walter of Hereford, until at least the late 1070s, and the appointment of the comparatively Anglicised Osbern fitzOsbern to Exeter in 1072, encouraged greater continuity in administrative practices in the West of England than elsewhere in the kingdom.[92] The Conqueror, meanwhile, seems to have been prepared to rely on existing structures where they were useful to him, and to devise alternative systems where traditional ones failed.

So far, this chapter has made the case for using the address clauses of royal writs as evidence for episcopal involvement in local government, specifically the role of bishops in presiding over the shire court. Does it necessarily follow, though, that the individuals addressed in a writ were actually present at the shire court to hear it read out? It is true that bishops are the most frequently addressed group of people in the surviving writs of William I. Yet even in cases

[91] See below, pp. 150–1.

[92] For Osbern's supposedly anglicized habits see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), ii, 94.6, pp. 316–7; *English Episcopal Acta* XI: *Exeter, 1046–1184,* ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

where the subject of a writ was a straightforward grant of property or privileges, the addressees did not always include the diocesan/s for the shire, or shires, where the property was situated. Sometimes, for example, when the beneficiary institution and the property being granted were in separate shires, writs seem to have been addressed to the relevant archbishop, as though the matter had been referred higher up the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Such was the case in a general confirmation of the customs of St Mary's of Abingdon.[93] Probably issued shortly after the accession of Abbot Adelelm in 1071, the document applies to all the shires where the abbey held land: that is Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and Warwickshire. It is addressed to Archbishop Lanfranc, Robert d'Oilly, sheriff of Oxfordshire and possibly Berkshire, and Roger de Pîtres, probably sheriff of Gloucestershire.

At this time Berkshire was part of the diocese of Salisbury, Oxfordshire part of the diocese of Dorchester/Lincoln, Gloucestershire split between the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford (though mostly in Worcester), and Warwickshire between the dioceses of Worcester and Lichfield. The abbey, then, held land in many different dioceses and it makes sense, therefore, that this confirmation of its possessions should be addressed to the archdiocesan, rather than to each of the diocesan bishops in question. The author of the *Historia Ecclesie Abbendoniensis*, however, provided an account of this writ being read out in the shire court of Berkshire and this raises questions about the purpose of the writ and the reasons for the identity of the addressees.[94] Was

[93] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 4.
[94] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendoniensis: Volume II*, ed. and trans. John Hudson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 3–4

this a routine or an extraordinary meeting of the shire court of Berkshire, and did Archbishop Lanfranc actually preside over it in person? Was the writ also read in other shire courts? If so, why did the Abingdon chronicler only mention Berkshire? David Bates has suggested that the archbishop may have been sent to 'supervise a general enquiry into Abingdon's tenures',[95] but no such enquiry was explicitly mentioned by the chronicler, and Lanfranc himself was also omitted from the account of the writ being read at the shire court. These questions remain unanswered, and perhaps unanswerable in this instance, but they are a salutary reminder that the presence of an individual in the address clause of a writ is not a guarantee of his presence in the shire court at its reading. This stands in contrast to the conclusion drawn by Levi Roach for the tenth century, on the basis of independent evidence regarding deaths and exiles, that the individuals who attested Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas really were present at the assemblies where they were issued.[96]

Bishops were busy men, with many competing demands on their time. It is highly likely that, the protocols of writs notwithstanding, they were sometimes unable to attend meetings of the shire court and that their places were taken by deputies.[97] This was also the period during which archdeaconries began to be established on a significant scale, including the earliest territorial archdeaconries, with archdeacons assisting bishops in a

[95] Bates, *Regesta*, p. 115.
[96] Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 26.
[97] Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 71–2.

variety of spiritual and pastoral duties.[98] By the time of Bishop Remigius' death in 1092, the vast diocese of Lincoln had seven territorial archdeaconries, each of which corresponded with a particular shire: Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham and Bedford.[99] While I have been able to find no specific references in the British Academy's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* series to an archdeacon presiding over the shire court in place of a bishop, it seems highly likely that they did sometimes deputise for bishops in secular as well as ecclesiastical affairs, especially in cases where the boundaries of an archdeaconry corresponded with the boundaries of a shire. It is possible therefore that some of the surviving writs addressed to diocesan bishops were actually delivered to assemblies at which they were not present, and where their place was taken by a deputy, perhaps an archdeacon.

[98] Christopher Brooke, 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1–19; Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 49, 305–6, 337; B. R. Kemp, 'Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta: Additions and Corrections', *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), 1–21; *Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B. R. Kemp, Canterbury and York Society, 92 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001).

[99] Brooke, 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', p. 2; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 3, Lincoln,* ed. Diana E Greenway (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1977), pp. ix, 24–44.

Bishops in national government

Some bishops are more likely than others to have been absent from a significant number of shire assemblies, either because their dioceses were very large and required frequent itineration, as was the case with Lincoln, or because their business in the royal *curia* kept them away from home for long periods of time. The second part of this chapter leaves the shire court behind and considers how William I's bishops managed to balance their local obligations with their involvement in royal administration at the centre, attending and advising the king in his court, at crown-wearings, and during the accompanying assemblies where so many of the most important decisions of the reign were taken.

Bishops, whether of dioceses foreign or domestic, played a wide variety of national roles. At times over the course of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey of Coutances, Ranulph Flambard, bishop of Durham, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury variously assumed powers which closely approximated those of the king himself. Bishops led armies and teams of commissioners.[100] They adjudicated disputes and prosecuted them.[101] The *Historia Ecclesie Abbendoniensis* informs us that Bishop Osmund of Salisbury was charged with accompanying the king's teenage son Henry to Abingdon Abbey at Easter 1084, leading C. Warren Hollister to suggest that Osmund may

[100] Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders', p. 60.
[101] For instructions to Geoffrey of Coutances concerning the adjudication of the dispute between the abbey of Ely and the bishop of Lincoln see Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 119–20; for William of St Calais' role in the prosecution of Archbishop Anselm on behalf of William II see W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 283–99, p. 285.

have been Henry's tutor.[102] Julia Crick has shown that the practice of bishops tutoring young princes had been well established in pre-Conquest England and Osmund, who presided over a particularly scholarly cathedral chapter, must have been an ideal candidate to educate the future Henry I.[103]

In an article of 2012 on 'Way-Stations on English Episcopal Itineraries', Julia Barrow considered how changes in the estates held by the bishops of Hereford over the course of the eighth to thirteenth centuries relate to fundamental shifts in the political and ecclesiastical centres of gravity in lowland England during the same period.[104] Her diachronic analysis drew primarily on the evidence of charters issued during these centuries. She described how bishops sought to acquire and retain estates which could serve as useful stopping points during journeys south and east, and how their most commonly employed routes altered as the political focus of the kingdom gradually shifted eastwards from Wessex towards London in the late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman period, especially after the revival of church councils in the 1070s.[105]

Thanks to the wealth of information collated and analysed on the *PASE Domesday* project website, it is now possible to apply some of Barrow's conclusions about the relationship between episcopal landholding and

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[102] Hudson, *Historia Ecclesie Abbendoniensis*, pp. 16–7; C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (Totton: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 36–7.

[103] For the tutoring of Anglo-Saxon princes by bishops, see Julia Crick, 'Learning and Training', *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 352–72, pp. 363–4. For the intellectual interests of the canons of Salisbury cathedral, see Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), especially Chapter 4.

[104] Julia Barrow, 'Way-Stations on English Episcopal Itineraries, c.700–c.1300', *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), 549–65.

[105] Barrow, 'Way-Stations', pp. 551–2.

episcopal travel to other bishops of William I's reign.[106] *PASE Domesday* offers a searchable database of every Domesday landholder, and maps of the properties they held in 1066 and/or 1086. It therefore enables a synchronic comparison of the holdings of each of Edward the Confessor's bishops in 1066 and William I's in 1086, and helps to indicate circumstances where there was a significant change in the size or composition of an episcopal fief during the course of the Conqueror's reign. One can see, for instance, how the concentration of episcopal estates in the diocese of Lincoln shifted north-eastwards with the transfer of the see in 1072, by comparing the holdings of Bishop Wulfwig of Dorchester in 1066, with those of Bishop Remigius in 1086.[107]

Of course, a map alone cannot reveal how an individual acquired a given estate and, even when this information is provided in the text of Great Domesday itself, it is not always possible to ascertain why it might have been particularly desirable to obtain property in a particular location. Not all acquisitions can be characterised as political or strategic. Another powerful incentive in some instances may have been to find new sources of income.

Moreover, Domesday is more reliably informative about rural estates than properties in towns. There are exceptions to this generalisation. The account of the borough of Wallingford in Berkshire, for example, records that Bishop Walkelin of Winchester had twenty-seven tenements (*hagae*) there, Bishop Osmund of Salisbury had seven, Bishop Remigius of Lincoln had one, and Archbishop Lanfranc had six messuages (*masurae*).[108] Lanfranc, Walkelin

[106] *PASE Domesday*, <www.http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed. 13.01.17)
[107] Stephen Baxter, 'Wulfwig, bishop of Dorchester, fl. 1066' and 'Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.01.17).
[108] *Domesday Book: Berkshire*, B2, B3, B4, B6.

and Remigius also held land in Oxford, alongside Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey of Coutances and Robert of Hereford, for whom the borough must have provided a useful staging post on journeys south.[109] Great Domesday Book contains no account of London or Winchester, however, and so we know very little about the distribution of property, episcopal or otherwise, in two of the most important urban centres in medieval England. The twelve houses which William of St Calais, the bishop of Durham, held in London, are recorded only because they were attached to his estate of Waltham in Essex.[110] Bishops might well have held many other properties in London or Winchester. For shires where Domesday Book does not record the attachment of urban houses to rural manors, however, such urban holdings are impossible to detect.

Nevertheless, some of the patterns revealed in the *PASE Domesday* maps of pre- and post-Conquest episcopal holdings do provoke some interesting hypotheses, as long as they are approached with caution. On the basis of this evidence, it seems that some bishops acted primarily or exclusively as diocesans, focusing heavily on their own dioceses and local political orbits. Such is the case for Giso, bishop of Wells, Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, William, bishop of Thetford, and Stigand, bishop of Chichester.[111] The properties held by these men in 1086 are heavily concentrated within the boundaries of their own, comparatively small, dioceses, with the implication that they did not often travel further afield. In the case of the diocese of Rochester, which lay so close

[109] *Domesday Book: Oxfordshire*, B8.
[110] *Domesday Book: Essex*, 7,1.
[111] Stephen Baxter, 'Giso, bishop of Wells, fl. 1086', 'William, bishop of Thetford, fl. 1086' and 'Stigand Bishop of Chichester, fl. 1086', and Duncan Probert, 'Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.01.17).

to both Canterbury and London, and whose bishop served as 'a solid suffragan in Kent for Lanfranc', the absence of episcopal properties further afield is perhaps less significant.[112] It would have been quite straightforward for Bishop Gundulf to attend church councils or royal assemblies, provided they were held in the South East, and the account of his episcopate in the *Textus Roffensis* suggests that his time in office was much occupied anyway with the rebuilding of the cathedral church of Rochester and the construction of the outer walls of the castle.[113]

As for Giso, the impressive collection of royal writs, a royal diploma, and a papal diploma in favour of his church which he assembled throughout the 1060s, demonstrates that, though he may have been 'a minor player in a major league' of William's bishops, he was certainly far from idle.[114] Seemingly a man of considerable energy and character, Giso was diligent in augmenting the possessions of his cathedral church, and I shall argue below that he may have played a significant role in the process which led to the compilation of Exon Domesday.[115] He inherited an impoverished see, however, and his episcopate was dogged by a dispute over jurisdiction with the abbey of Glastonbury, which lay within the bounds of the diocese of Wells, but was very much richer than the bishopric.[116]

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[112] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 227.
[113] *Textus Roffensis: Accedunt, Professionum antiquorum Angliæ episcoporum formulæ, de canonica obedientia archiepiscopis cantuariensibus præstanda*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1728), pp. 145–6.
[114] Simon Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 203–71, p. 203; for the collected set of documents relating to Giso's career see Keynes, 'Giso', Appendix I.
[115] See Chapter 3 below, especially pp. 190–5.
[116] Keynes, 'Giso', p. 248.

Disputes with neighbouring monastic houses of considerable wealth and political importance were also a factor in the dioceses of Thetford and Chichester. Herfast, bishop of Thetford, spent much of his episcopate in conflict with the abbot of Bury St Edmunds, whither he desired to move his see.[117] Stigand of Chichester, meanwhile, found his authority in Sussex seriously challenged by the Conqueror's foundation at Battle. The abbey chronicler recounted how Stigand's refusal to travel to Battle to consecrate the new abbot, Gausbert, in c.1076 provoked such anger from the king that he not only forced the bishop to make the journey and perform the consecration, but instructed that he should be given no lodging in the abbey afterwards.[118]

Wells, Rochester and Chichester were all small and poor dioceses, and their bishops and the bishop of Thetford all had to work hard to maintain their authority due to powerful monastic neighbours. It is therefore easy to see how these bishops might not have played as regular a part in national politics as some of their episcopal colleagues, if they were preoccupied with the fortunes of their own dioceses. That is not to say that they never travelled. We know that Giso, for example, journeyed as far afield as Rome, witnessed several of the Conqueror's charters, assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc and attended the Council of Winchester in 1072 and the Council of London in 1075.[119] The concentrated patterns of their episcopal holdings in 1086,

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[117] Frank Barlow, 'Herfast (*d.* 1084)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13075> (Accessed 13.01.17).
[118] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. Eleanor Searle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 70–3, 194–7.
[119] Keynes, 'Giso'; Julia Barrow, 'Giso (*d.* 1088)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10778> (Accessed 13.01.17).

however, suggest that these men were not making regular journeys across the country on the king's business.

One man who certainly did make such journeys was William of St Calais. A comparison of the 1066 holdings of bishop Æthelwine with those estates held by bishop William in 1086 reveals acquisitions on a significant scale.[120] County Durham itself is not covered by Great Domesday Book, so we only have evidence of the estates the bishops of Durham held outside of their own dioceses. Yet these still reveal a significant shift in the priorities of the incumbent bishop. Æthelwine is recorded as having been the lord of fifteen manors in Yorkshire in 1066. The *PASE Domesday* map of his holdings shows thirteen of these situated on the road south from Durham to York, with the large manor of Holme-on-the-Wolds, and the smaller one of Persene in Scorborough, located east of York on the way to Beverley. The clear implication of this pattern of landholding is that Bishop Æthelwine travelled at least relatively frequently to the seat of the archdiocese at York, and perhaps sometimes to Beverley, the site of Beverley Minster, but did not often venture further south.[121]

By contrast, William of St Calais in 1086 held a great deal of land in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Essex. Among his

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[120] Stephen Baxter, 'Æthelwine, bishop of Durham, fl. 1066' and 'William, bishop of Durham, fl. 1086' *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.01.17).

[121] For archaeological evidence of similar staging posts used by the eighth- and ninth-century bishops of Lindisfarne on journeys to and from the archiepiscopal seat at York, see Eric Cambridge, 'Why did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?', *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, C. Stancliffe and D. Rollason (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 367–86, pp. 380–6; for the acquisition and distribution of St Cuthbert's early estates, see W. M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham 1071–1153* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), Chapter 1; Ivan D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edn (London: John Baker, 1973), nos. 8, 80.

newly acquired properties were Horn in Northamptonshire, Arlesey and Millow in Bedfordshire, and Waltham in Essex with its twelve attached houses in London, all of which lay along the road south from York. Further acquisitions were Welton, Howden and Belby, all situated near the Humber in the East Riding of Yorkshire and possibly, therefore, designed to facilitate travel southwards or to the Continent by sea.[122] The bishop's Lincolnshire estates, meanwhile, are likely to have been primarily of economic rather than strategic importance. Eleventh-century Lincolnshire was extremely wealthy, exporting food and wool in large quantities to Flanders and Lotharingia, in return for German silver.[123] It was thus a desirable part of the country in which to acquire property.

Frustratingly, nothing is known of when or how Durham came into possession of its many Lincolnshire estates, or whether it was Bishop Walcher or Bishop William who acquired them.[124] Peter Sawyer even suggested that the see may have acquired these properties before 1066. Citing the name of one of the estates in question, 'Biscathorpe', he argued that the pre-Conquest holders of many of the Lincolnshire estates in the bishop of Durham's fief may actually have been the bishop's men already in the time of King Edward, and that this information was simply omitted from the Great Domesday account of the county.[125] Certainly Durham's connection with Lincolnshire seems to antedate

[122] For the grant of Welton and that of Howden see Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 112–3. These are two, probably, authentic documents, cast in the form of Continental notices, rather than English writs.
[123] Peter Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee for the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1998), p. 180.
[124] Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon* Lincolnshire, p.153.
[125] Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, p. 154.

1086. Prior Turgot, hero of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de Exordio*, who acted as bishop in all but name during William of St Calais' exile in Normandy from 1088 to 1091, was from a noble Lincolnshire family.[126] Moreover the fact that Turgot reputedly escaped from captivity in Lincoln castle in 1069 and fled to the court of the Norwegian king Olaf III aboard a merchant ship from Grimsby confirms that there was trade between Lincolnshire and Scandinavia in the period, as well as with commercial centres in the Low Countries. [127]

The precise date at which the lands of the bishop of Durham were divided from those of the convent is also unclear, though there seems to have been a working division operating by the end of Bishop William's episcopate.[128] The separation of the episcopal *mensa* from the lands of the cathedral chapter was an established canonical principle by the eleventh century but in reality 'such a divorce was usually slow and painful'.[129] It might often have been difficult even for contemporaries to ascertain whether land belonged to a bishop personally or to his church.

Such confusion is apparent in the circumstances surrounding the production of a 1068 diploma of William I in favour of Bishop Giso of Wells.[130] William is said to have been moved by the bishop's tears and prayers to restore to him thirty hides at Banwell in Somerset, unjustly appropriated by Harold

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[126] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); for Turgot's career see also Robert Bartlett, 'Turgot (c.1050–1115)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27831> (Accessed 13.01.17).
[127] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 306–7, n. 85.
[128] Frank Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 6; Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth–Century England: A Study of the "Mensa Episcopalis"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 132; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, pp. 145–6.
[129] Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, p. 4.
[130] Bates, *Regesta*, 286.

Godwinesson, despite having been bequeathed to the church of Wells by Giso's predecessor, Duduc, upon his death. There was clearly a degree of confusion here, as to whether the property had been held by Duduc in a personal capacity or whether it belonged to the church. Giso was also granted land at Wedmore in Somerset by Edward the Confessor, in a writ which specifies that it should be used for the maintenance of the canons of Wells.[131] In the *Liber Albus* of Wells Cathedral, the passage containing this stipulation has been underlined by an annotating scribe in an early modern hand, suggesting perhaps that the revenues from Wedmore had not always been allocated as intended.[132]

At Durham, Symeon recorded how Bishop William, having established a community of monks there, 'segregated his own landed possessions from theirs, so that the monks should possess their lands for the purpose of their maintenance and clothing'.[133] As Frank Barlow and Everett U. Crosby both highlighted, however, there is no documentary evidence to suggest that the endowment of the monks was a large one.[134] Moreover, all of Durham's Lincolnshire estates are recorded in Great Domesday under the rubric *Terra Episcopi Dunelmensis*, with only one estate at Blythborough specifying that two of its plough teams were for the use of the monks.[135] It seems safe, therefore, to treat these Lincolnshire properties as belonging to the bishop of Durham in 1086.

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[131] S 1115; Harmer, *Writs*, no. 68.
[132] Wells, Dean and Chapter, MS. R. I. (Liber Albus I), fols. 2–64
[133] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de*, pp. 232–33. ('Denique terrarum possessiones illorum ita a suis possessionibus segregauit, ut suas omnino ab episcopi seruitio et ab omni consuetudine liberas et quietas ad suum uictum et uestitum terras monachi possiderent').
[134] Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, pp. 6–8; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, p. 134.
[135] GDB, fol. 340v.

Making this assumption, the distribution of these estates is certainly consistent with the notion of a bishop who was, as W. M. Aird has described him, 'the governmental factotum of the first Norman king'.[136] The demesne estates which Bishop William had at his disposal on the road south, and on the Humber, support the idea that this was a man who spent a good deal of his time travelling in the service of the king. William's service in the royal *curia*, and the frequent absences from Durham it must have entailed, explain why there is no record of him performing any regular diocesan duties.[137] If one of the questions posed at the outset of this chapter was how the bishops of the late eleventh century managed to balance their national activities against their local obligations, the answer in the case of William of St Calais seems to have been that he did not. William appears to have largely ignored the administration of his diocese, in favour of the administration of the kingdom.

The bishop of Durham was not the only one of William I's bishops to have acquired estates beyond the boundaries of his diocese by 1086, which his antecessor had not held twenty years earlier; although Durham does provide the most pronounced example of such a shift. On a more modest scale, however, a significant change is apparent in the holdings of the bishop of Exeter between 1066 and 1086.[138] At the time of the Conquest, Bishop Leofric held only one manor outside of Devon and Cornwall, at Bampton in Oxfordshire. By the time of Domesday, Exeter's holdings had expanded considerably, extending north

[136] W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), p. 291.
[137] Aird, 'An Absent Friend', pp. 296–7.
[138] Stephen Baxter, 'Leofric, bishop of Exeter, fl. 1066' and 'Osbern, bishop of Exeter, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.01.17).

into Gloucestershire and east as far as Norfolk. Some of these additional manors were those which had already been acquired by Bishop Osbern in his capacity as a royal chaplain, before his elevation to the episcopate, the most valuable being Bosham in Sussex.[139]

Not all of the estates Exeter acquired between 1066 and 1086, however, were Osbern's personal holdings from his days as a royal clerk. He seems to have acquired the Norfolk properties after he became a bishop, perhaps after the removal of Earl Ralph of East Anglia in 1075, and also the manor of Tyting, near Woking in Surrey, which had been held by Almer the huntsman TRE.[140] Osbern's aristocratic roots mean that we must be careful about attributing the augmentation of his estates to his role in royal administration rather than his personal and familial connections. Nevertheless the properties he acquired in Hampshire and Surrey, in particular, must have meant that journeys to London were significantly easier for Osbern and his successors than they had been for Bishop Leofric. The shift is also in keeping with what is known of Leofric's active dedication to pastoral care in his diocese, vis-à-vis Osbern's status as a curial bishop.[141] Establishing the newly amalgamated see of Exeter, building up its income and its library, must have demanded Leofric's full attention, and the concentration of his estates within the boundaries of his diocese fits with that picture.

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[139] Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2016), 207–43, pp. 227–9; for more on Osbern's ministerial holdings see also Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, pp. 87, 236–7.

[140] Baxter and Lewis, 'Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', pp. 234–5.

[141] Elaine Treharne, 'Producing a library in late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050–1072', *Review of English Studies,* 54 (2003), 155–72.

This apparent bifurcation of the bishops of the Conqueror's reign into regional and national figures is also found to some extent in the surviving attestations in *pre*-Conquest royal diplomas. Keynes' *Atlas of Attestations* reveals, for example, that the bishops of Ramsbury and Winchester attested nearly every surviving diploma of King Cnut, whereas there are far fewer attestations from the bishops of Hereford, Selsey, Crediton or Worcester.[142] In the Anglo-Saxon period, as in the Anglo-Norman, it seems that some bishops attended the royal court much more regularly than others. Nor were different attendance rates, and the variations in political status that they indicated, always inherent to particular dioceses. They could also be affected by the character and abilities of individual incumbents. For instance, the bishops of Wells attested rather erratically during most of Cnut's reign but Bishop Duduc, appointed by Cnut in 1030, went on to attest almost every charter of Edward the Confessor.[143] One of the few he does not witness is dated 1049, during which year he is known to have been sent on a diplomatic mission to Reims by the Confessor.[144] Duduc emerges as a trusted royal servant who, through his usefulness to the king, elevated his political status beyond that which was inherent to his see.

The administrative system of William I's reign was built on solid and lasting foundations but it was also responsive to the political needs of the moment. Shire courts continued to operate at least partly in Old English for many

[142] Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations*, Table LXVI.
[143] Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations*, Table LXXII.
[144] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Yale University Press, 2nd edn, 1997), p. 169, n. 3.

decades after the Conquest; and writs such as the grant of Stortford castle to Maurice of London, and the instruction regarding Peter's Pence to William de Courseulles, possibly connected to the king's 1080 admission that the payment had been carelessly collected during his absence in France, suggest that the vernacular also continued to be used as a language of written administration in the localities.[145] Despite W. L. Warren's assertion that the Conqueror's reign 'seriously undermined the traditional working of the shire',[146] its court continued to perform many vital functions in late-eleventh-century provincial society and was a central forum for routine administrative business and for the airing of disputes.

Nevertheless, there were occasions when the king chose to circumvent this mechanism of local government by directing an instruction to a specific individual.[147] In the case of especially complex judicial disputes which could not be resolved through the usual channels, he sometimes relied on a 'task force' of his most trusted administrators to reach a solution. Trust was a vital component of William's rule. It is a theme which runs through David Bates' 2016 biography of the Conqueror, with Bates describing how, even as a young man in Normandy, the then-duke created an 'apparatus of trust' which underpinned the success of the Conquest, and how he managed throughout his career to 'identify and favour individuals he could trust and whose abilities he respected.'[148] Bishops were central to this 'apparatus of trust' and they were

[145] Bates, *Regesta*, p. 867.
[146] W. L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086–1272* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), p. 62.
[147] See, for example, Bates, *Regesta*, no. 44, instructing Abbot Turold of Peterborough to give Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds unencumbered access to stone for his church.
[148] David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 86, 223.

involved at every level of government and administration, from local assemblies all the way up to the greatest administrative achievement of William's reign: the completion of the Domesday survey.

By 1086, however, something of a two-tier episcopal system seems to have emerged. Patterns of episcopal landholding presented in the maps on the *PASE Domesday* website seem to suggest a distinction between key men like William of St Calais and Osmund of Salisbury,[149] whose lucrative and strategically distributed estates allowed them to fund lifestyles befitting the most powerful magnates in the kingdom and regularly to travel long distances in the service of the king, and diocesan bishops of a more modest political standing who were important players in the local world of shire assemblies but were not in a position to exercise significant authority at a national level. It is notable that the four bishops who held houses in the strategically placed borough of Wallingford in 1086 — Lanfranc, Walkelin, Osmund and Remigius — were all men of national standing.[150] Some bishops managed to pivot more successfully than others between their diocesan and curial roles. Osmund was widely respected as a royal administrator, yet also admired as a scholar in his own cathedral chapter and venerated as a saint after his death.[151] William of St Calais was less fondly remembered in Durham.[152] What is indisputable,

[149] Stephen Baxter, 'Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 13.01.17).
[150] *Domesday: Berkshire*, B2, B3, B4, B6; for the strategic location of Wallingford, see Katharine Keats-Rohan, 'Fortunes of War: Safe-Guarding Wallingford Castle and Honour, 1135–1160', *Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c.1066–c.1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King*, ed. Paul Dalton and David Luscombe (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 125–40, p. 130.
[151] *The Canonization of St Osmund from the Manuscript Records*, ed. A. R. Malden (Salisbury: Wiltshire Records Society, 1901).
[152] Aird, 'An Absent Friend', pp. 286–7.

however, is that without the aid of his bishops, the administration of William I could never have operated as successfully as it did, both at the heart of government in Westminster and Winchester, and in the localities.

Chapter 3: Episcopal Exon? Reading Between the Lines of Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3500

Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3500, better known as Exon Domesday, is a remarkable witness to a formidable administrative undertaking.[1] The manuscript is a partially preserved record of the stage of the Domesday process immediately anterior to the compilation of Great Domesday Book, for the five south-western counties which comprised Circuit II of the survey.[2] The majority of the text consists of entries about manors, structured like the entries in Great Domesday Book, though also containing extra information which is omitted from Great Domesday, especially about livestock.

In its current form, the main portion of the text (hereafter referred to as Exon Fiefs) is incomplete. It covers all of Somerset and Cornwall and most of Devon but only about a third of Dorset and a single manor in Wiltshire. The entries are arranged feudally, with the lands of each tenant-in-chief grouped together. There is a major divide between entries pertaining to Devon, Cornwall and Somerset on the one hand and Dorset and Wiltshire on the other. Thus the estates of tenants-in-chief like William de Moyon, sheriff of Somerset, who held land in Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset and Devon, are recorded in two separate

[1] Hereafter references to palaeographical or codicological features of the manuscript will be given in the form Exon, fol. 1r and references to the text in the form EDB a1. High resolution images of the manuscript can be found on the Exon Domesday Project website, along with Frank Thorn's edited text and translation, to which the entry references refer. See 'Text Viewer', 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 12.11.17).

[2] For the reconstruction of the Domesday 'circuits' see Carl Stephenson, 'Notes on the composition and interpretation of Domesday Book', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 1–15.

sections.[3] The separation between these two batches of entries is maintained throughout but, within each batch, entries for more than one shire may appear in a single booklet.[4] On folio 356r, for example, one scribe finishes recording the Devon estates of William de Moyon on line eight and another begins the account of his Somerset holdings on the next line.[5] In addition to Exon Fiefs, the manuscript also contains a series of geld accounts, one apiece for the counties of Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, and three different but related accounts for Wiltshire.[6] The contents of a list of additions to and subtractions from manors in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, entitled *Terrae Occupatae*, usually duplicates information provided in Exon Fiefs.[7]

As the most recent campaign of work on the manuscript has demonstrated, some twenty-five scribes worked on Exon, collaborating in a close and complicated fashion.[8] In some instances a single scribe was responsible for several continuous folios but at other times multiple hands might appear on the same page, writing only very short stints before breaking

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[3] EDB 47a1–49b2 for William's Wiltshire and Dorset lands; EDB 356a1–364b2 for his Devon and Somerset lands.

[4] Colin Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England: Studies of the Documentation Resulting from the Survey Conducted in 1086,* British Archaeological Reports, 405 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), pp. 41–3.

[5] Exon, fol. 356r.

[6] Exon, fols. 1–24, 65–82, 529.

[7] Exon, fols. 495–525.

[8] J. C. Crick and F. J. Alvarez Lopez, 'Decision-making and work flow in Exon Domesday', *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to ca. 1550): 20th colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine, Yale 6–8 September* 2017, ed. B. Shailor, C. Dutschke and R Clemens (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming); J. C. Crick, F. J. Alvarez Lopez and L. Lane, 'Le Recensement Domesday Exon (Exeter, Cathedral Library ms. 3500): rôle de l'épiscopat et ressources scribales dans l'Angleterre du Sud-Ouest 1086-1137', *Écrire à l'ombre des cathédrales: Pratiques de l'écrit en milieu cathédral (espace Anglo-Normand et France de l'ouest — xie-xiiie siècle)*, ed. Grégory Combalbert and Chantal Senséby (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, forthcoming); see also descriptions of the individual hands by Francisco Alvarez Lopez, 'Hands', 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/hands> (Accessed 10.11.17).

off, sometimes mid-line, in patterns which are difficult to identify or explain. All, or almost all, of the hands can be identified as being French in character, suggesting that the scribes were either Frenchmen or were trained on the Continent.[9] The manuscript contains a very high number of interlineations, erasures, corrections and self-corrections, superscript additions, marginal annotations, blank spaces and ambiguous scribal *notae*. All of these features suggest that the scribes were responding to immediate stimuli in their production of the text, rather than focusing on posterity, and prioritising speed and clarity over aesthetics.

In their 2001 article 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book', Frank and Caroline Thorn confirmed the hypothesis formulated long before by F. H. Baring in 1912, that Exon Fiefs was the direct source for the section of Great Domesday Book dealing with the south-western counties.[10] Their work contradicted the suggestion by V. H. Galbraith and Rex Welldon Finn that a 'final return' or fair copy of each circuit return was made in the localities and then sent to Winchester to be copied into Great Domesday Book.[11] Nevertheless, the text of

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[9] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 800–7, especially p. 807; Crick, Alvarez Lopez and Lane, 'Le Recensement Domesday Exon'; 'Exon Domesday II: The Frenchness of Exon', Leeds International Medieval Congress 2017 (Session No: 839).

[10] F. H. Baring, 'The Exeter Domesday', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 309–18, pp. 309–10; Frank and Caroline Thorn, 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book', *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 37–72, pp. 48, 58, 66–9; Thorn and Thorn's findings have been confirmed by the work of the Exon Domesday Project team in Stephen Baxter, Julia Crick, Chris Lewis and Frank Thorn, *Making Domesday: The Conqueror's Survey in Context*, Studies in Exon Domesday II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

[11] V. H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 32, 102–13; R. W. Finn 'The Immediate Sources of Exchequer Domesday', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 40 (1957) 47–78; *Domesday Studies: the Liber Exoniensis* (London: Longman, 1964), pp. 5–6, 28, 52–4, 131–2, 157–8. Peter Sawyer also thought the 'fair copy' hypothesis was possible, but he did not discount the idea that Exon might have been the direct source for Great Domesday: P. H. Sawyer, 'The 'Original Returns' and Domesday Book', *English Historical Review*, 275 (1955), 177–97, p. 197.

Exon Fiefs still represents an intermediate stage in the processing of the tenurial and fiscal information collected during the Domesday survey. It was the final stage of the enquiry before the compilation of Great Domesday Book but must itself have drawn on a huge quantity of earlier written material.

That the majority of this material was arranged geographically is clear and that it took the form of individual hundred returns is probable.[12] This chapter suggests, however, that the Exon scribes drew upon other kinds of written material in the completion of their task. In addition to rearranging and copying from geographically arranged returns, produced specifically as part of the survey, they seem occasionally to have abstracted and consciously manipulated information from other pre-existing documentary sources, be these royal diplomas, records of legal proceedings or internal institutional memoranda.[13]

To date, the historiography of the Exon manuscript, like that of the Domesday process more generally, has tended to focus principally on the institutions and mechanisms of royal government. Although sheriffs and other royal officials must have been important in the completion of the survey, however, they cannot have operated in an administrative vacuum. The Domesday process involved a huge amount of writing at extraordinary speed and hence required a great many scribes. Episcopal households and cathedral chapters on both sides of the Channel are likely to have played a significant role in providing scribes. Indeed the hands of two Exon scribes were identified by N.

[12] This hypothesis was clearly articulated in Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 3. For evidence of the underlying geographical arrangement of Exon, see below, pp. 157–72; see also Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 5.
[13] See below, pp. 197–200.

R. Ker in 1976 in books copied in the cathedral chapter at Salisbury and Teresa Webber later increased the number of identifications to three.[14] Webber also noted more general palaeographical similarities between Exon and the scholarly volumes produced at Salisbury during the episcopate of Bishop Osmund (1078–99).[15]

Moreover, individual bishops are known to have been closely involved with the Domesday process, serving as commissioners or consciously manipulating the survey to their own ends.[16] Various episcopal candidates have even been advanced for the role of overall mastermind of the survey.[17] Work on each of these figures, however, has tended to view their involvement in individual terms, rather than as part of a wider episcopal role in Domesday. Exceptions to this generalisation are to be found in the work of H. R. Loyn, Sally Harvey and Pamela Taylor. Harvey characterised Domesday as a distinctly episcopal enterprise. The second chapter of her *Domesday: Book of Judgement* focused on 'The Architects of the Inquiry: The Bishops and the Royal Clerks', establishing a collective identity for William I's bishops as crucial figures in his administration and 'the pinnacle of the circle of authority that produced

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[14] N. R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', *Medieval learning and literature: essays presented to R. W. Hunt*, eds. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 23–49, pp. 35, 49; Teresa Webber, 'Salisbury and the Exon Domesday: Some Observations Concerning the Origins of Exeter Cathedral MS 3500', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, 1 (1989), 1–18, pp. 4–6.

[15] Webber, 'Salisbury and the Exon Domesday', p. 8.

[16] David Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 70; H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 223–35, pp. 229–30; for the argument that Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester manipulated the Domesday evidence in favour of his church see Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 73–102, especially p. 74.

[17] V. H. Galbraith, 'Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 86–101; Pierre Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 65–78.

Domesday'.[18] Writing in the 1980s, Loyn also surmised that William's bishops 'must have made a formidable element in the group responsible for implementing the decision to create Domesday Book'.[19] Loyn also speculated about which bishops were more or less likely to have served as circuit commissioners and in which shires.[20]

Most recently, Taylor examined the evidence of episcopal returns in Great Domesday Book in her contribution to the 2016 volume *Domesday Now*, edited by David Roffe and Katharine Keats-Rohan.[21] She noted that the role of bishops in presiding over shire courts meant that they were probably 'automatically involved in the first, county-based stages of the inquest' and that this left them well placed to influence and benefit from the process.[22] Indeed, as Chapter 2 argued, the decline of territorial earldoms after 1066 left bishops occupying a more commanding position than ever in the shire courts of William I's reign.[23] Given how strategically placed they were to involve themselves in the early provincial stages of the survey, therefore, Taylor found it remarkable that so few prelates seem to have succeeded in intruding an individual return into the text of Great Domesday Book and that those who did, like Wulfstan in Worcestershire and Remigius in Oxfordshire, only managed to do so in a single shire.[24] She concluded, however, that bishops, particularly those who had

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[18] Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 33.
[19] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 228.
[20] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', pp. 229–30.
[21] Pamela Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. David Roffe and Katharine Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 197–218
[22] Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', pp. 197–8.
[23] See Chapter 2, above, pp. 96–8.
[24] Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', pp. 199, 202–3; though see also John Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of c.1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 114–23, pp. 121–2, which notes that the entry for Remigius' manor of Aylesbury in

served as royal chaplains, may have been 'disproportionately involved in the production of the earlier recensions' of the Domesday text without that involvement necessarily leading to any outright manipulation of the final product.[25]

This chapter employs textual evidence from Exon Fiefs, and to a lesser extent the *Terrae Occupatae* list, to further argue for the centrality of bishops to the Domesday process in the localities. It suggests that, while Great Domesday is rightly regarded as a defining monument of medieval royal administration, the Exon Domesday manuscript ought to be considered, at least in part, as an episcopal book.[26] Bishops were not only involved in the Domesday process; they were fundamental in helping to shape it. Moreover, as Taylor highlighted, their involvement need not have involved acts of deliberate deception or attempts to secure unduly favourable accounts of their own holdings.[27] It may have been possible for bishops to assume constructive and collaborative roles in the exercise of royal government while also defending their own interests and those of their cathedral communities.

The following analysis would not have been possible without the work of the Exon Domesday Project team. The complete Latin text of Exon edited by Frank Thorn, the full palaeographical and codicological description of the manuscript by Francisco Alvarez Lopez, and the fresh insights into the making of Domesday offered in the forthcoming project monograph by Stephen Baxter,

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Buckinghamshire also contains distinctive formulations which suggest an underlying written source.

[25] Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', p. 202.

[26] Crick, Alvarez Lopez and Lane, 'Le Recensement Domesday Exon'.

[27] Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', p. 202.

Julia Crick, Chris Lewis and Frank Thorn, have all allowed me to go further than previously possible in interrogating the Exon text for traces of its sources and of episcopal influences on its production.[28]

The south-western dioceses in 1086

No single region can be considered entirely representative of the role played by the bishops of all the English dioceses in the Domesday process, let alone their wider political role in the second half of the eleventh century. Nevertheless, the south-western dioceses of Exeter, Wells and Salisbury provide an interesting test case for several reasons and, before turning to an analysis of the Exon Fiefs text, it is worth sketching some of their key characteristics. These dioceses demonstrate sufficient similarities to be considered together as a coherent ecclesiastical region but are different enough to observe how the political role of bishops might vary depending on the institutional circumstances of their cathedral churches.

The first point of similarity between Exeter, Wells and Salisbury is that all were secular foundations, during an important transitional period for the secular clergy in England and across Western Europe.[29] Moreover, the promotion of men of Lotharingian birth or education among the royal priests

[28] Frank Thorn, 'Text and Translation', and Francisco Alvarez Lopez, 'Palaeographical and Codicological Description', 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 12. 11.17); Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*.

[29] For a summary of the changes which occurred within the ranks of the secular clergy in the eleventh century see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 6–10.

and secular bishops of Edward the Confessor's reign was particularly pronounced in the south-western dioceses. [30] This group of men included Duduc (1033–61) and Giso (1061–88) at Wells, Hermann first at Ramsbury (from 1045) and afterwards at Sherborne (1058–1078) and Leofric at Crediton (from 1046) and Exeter (1050–1072). Further afield, but still in the west of England, were Walter (1060–79) and Robert (1079–95), who served as successive bishops of Hereford, and Regenbald, the royal chancellor, who developed a close relationship with the minster church of Cirencester.[31] The presence of these men, with their shared background in the royal chapel and their Continental connections, may have helped to give a certain regional integrity to the south-western dioceses on either side of the Conquest.

Exeter was still a comparatively new diocese in 1086, having been created in 1050 through the unification of the sees of Devon and Cornwall, with their centres at Crediton and St Germans.[32] The constitution of the new cathedral chapter was rather unusual and somewhat archaic. Long after territorial prebends had been adopted in neighbouring dioceses, the canons of Exeter continued to live communally under a modified form of the Rule of Chrodegang, first introduced by Bishop Leofric in or after 1050, and the chapter lacked a dean until as late as 1225.[33]

Bishop Giso of Wells also seems to have made some attempt to organise and regulate the life of his cathedral canons under a canonical rule. A much

[30] Simon Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 203–71, p. 211.
[31] Keynes, 'Giso', p. 212.
[32] *English Episcopal Acta* XI: *Exeter, 1046-1184,* ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xxix.
[33] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval* World, p. 89.

older diocese than Exeter, Wells had been founded in c.909, following the division of the large diocese of Sherborne.[34] According to a text which purports to be Bishop Giso's 'autobiography', embedded within a later composition known as the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis* and preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript, the newly appointed Giso restructured the diocese in 1061 'after the manner of my country' (*ad modum patrie mee*).[35] It remains unclear, however, how fully or for how long a communal canonical rule was observed at Wells and it is perhaps significant that, while the heading for the Exon account of the lands of Bishop Osbern of Exeter refers to the cathedral community rather than the bishop, the lands of the bishop of Wells are referred to explicitly as the 'Terra Gisonis Episcopi'.[36] While the implications of these contrasting headings should not be pushed too far, they seem to support the conclusion drawn by Simon Keynes that 'Giso did rather less for the canons than he did for himself'.[37]

At both Exeter and Wells there was continuity across the Conquest. Bishop Leofric survived until 1072 and his successor Osbern, though Norman, had been in England since the time of Edward the Confessor.[38] At Wells, Giso proved to be one of the great survivors of the post-Conquest period and

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[34] *Anglo-Saxon Charters* XIII: *Charters of Bath and Wells*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007), p. 158.
[35] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 213–26, Appendix IV; *Ecclesiastical Documents: viz. I. A brief history of the bishoprick of Somerset from its foundation to the year 1174. II. Charters from the library of Dr. Cox Macro*, ed. Joseph Hunter (London: Printed for the Camden Society, by J. B. Nichols and son, 1840), p. 19.
[36] EDB 117a1, 156a1.
[37] Keynes, 'Giso', p. 251.
[38] Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2016), 207–43, p. 216.

remained in post until his death in 1088. By contrast the early history of the diocese of Salisbury reflects the significant discontinuities which affected the English church in the 1070s. Comprising the counties of Dorset, Wiltshire and Berkshire, the diocese was created out of an amalgamation of Sherborne and Ramsbury in 1058 by Bishop Hermann. Its seat moved to Old Sarum at some stage between the 1075 Council of London and Hermann's death in 1078.[39] Bishop Osmund, who had come to England with the Conqueror and served as his chancellor from 1070 to 1078, succeeded in building up the chapter at Salisbury almost from scratch, including the creation of an important scholarly library and active scriptorium.[40]

Nor was Salisbury the only south-western ecclesiastical centre with an active scriptorium in the second half of the eleventh century. The vibrant scribal culture which existed at Exeter during the episcopate of Bishop Leofric, and continued into that of his successor, has been studied in considerable detail. Elaine Drage's unpublished doctoral thesis on 'Bishop Leofric and Exeter cathedral chapter' remains the fundamental work for the identification of individual scribes and the books and charters they each copied. [41] Elaine Treharne, meanwhile, has published extensively on the importance to Leofric's pastoral programme of producing texts in Old English, Joyce Hill has highlighted intellectual and ecclesiastical contacts between Leofric's Exeter and Worcester

[39] *English Episcopal Acta* XVIII: *Salisbury, 1078-1217,* ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. xxix.
[40] *EEA* XXVIII: *Salisbury,* pp. xxxv–xxxvi; on the functioning of the Salisbury scriptorium, see Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[41] Elaine Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978).

under Bishop Wulfstan II, and Takako Kato has argued for the continuation of a vernacular scribal culture at Exeter into the twelfth century.[42]

Even for the period before the unification of the dioceses of Devon and Cornwall, Charles Insley has detected traces of a regionally specific diplomatic tradition in the South West in the wording of royal diplomas for local beneficiaries and suggested Crediton as the likeliest centre for such a tradition to have originated.[43] This suggestion is strengthened by the identification by Peter Stokes of a distinct style of script being written at Crediton in the early eleventh century which retained some of the features of Square minuscule and displayed similarities with contemporary productions from Canterbury.[44] Book production is not attested at Wells, but Bishop Giso evidently attached a great deal of importance to the written word and to the acquisition, drafting and archiving of charters. His collection included royal writs and diplomas issued in the names of three kings and two queens, as well as a papal privilege.[45] It is within the context of this written documentary culture, which already existed in the cathedral chapters of the eleventh-century South West, that the Exon Domesday manuscript must be considered.

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[42] Elaine Treharne, 'Producing a library in late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050–1072', *Review of English Studies,* 54 (2003), 155–72; 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine Karkov, Janet Nelson and David Pelteret (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 521–37; Joyce Hill, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Bishops at Work. Wulfstan, Leofric and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190', *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 145–62; Takako Kato, 'Exeter Scribes in Cambridge University Library Ii.2.11 + Exeter Book fols 0, 1–7', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 5–22.

[43] Charles Insley, 'Charters and episcopal scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (2003) 173–97.

[44] Peter Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut, circa 990 – circa 1035* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 139–42.

[45] Keynes, 'Giso', Appendix I

The text of Exon Fiefs

The questions asked by the Domesday commissioners are preserved, albeit in a reconstituted form, in three late-twelfth-century manuscripts of the text known as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*,[46] according to which the following information was demanded:

> Then, what is the manor called? Who held it in the time of King Edward? Who holds it now? How many hides are there? How many ploughs in demesne? How many which belong to the men? How many villans are there? How many cottars? How many slaves? How many free men? How many sokemen? How much woodland? How much meadow? How much pasture? How many mills? How many fisheries? How much has been added or taken away? How much was it worth altogether and how much now? How much each free man or sokeman had or has? All this in triplicate; that is to say, in the time of King Edward, when King William gave it and as it may be now; and if more may be had than is had.

> ('Deinde quomodo uocatur mansio. Quis tenuit eam tempore regis Ædwardi. Quis modo tenet. Quot hide. Quot caruce in dominio. Quot hominum. Quot uillani. Quot cothcethle. Quot serui; Quot liberi homines. Quot sochemanni. Quantum silue. Quantum prati. Quantum pascuorum. Quot molendine. Quot piscine. Quantum est aditum uel ablatum. Quantum ualebat totum et quantum modo. Quantum quisque liber homo

[46] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.1; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.41; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. vi; published as *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis nunc primum e manuscripto unico in bibliotheca Cottoniana asservato typis mandata: subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London: Impensis Regiae Societatis Litterariae, 1876), p. 97.; terms of reference also published and translated in Frank Thorn, 'Non Pascua sed Pastura: the Changing Choice of Terms in Domesday', *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. David Roffe and Katharine Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 109–36, p. 112.

uel socheman habuit uel habet. Hoc totum tripliciter tempore regis scilicet Ædwardi et quando Rex Willelmus dedit et qualiter modo sit et si potest plus haberi quam habeatur.') [47]

In the south-western circuit at least, the commissioners evidently also asked for details of the livestock on each manor, since this information is consistently provided in Exon Fiefs.

In general the compilers of the Exon manuscript, or of the hundredal booklets which formed their main source, were extremely successful in standardising the information they received and the text is mostly very regular in terms of its structure and diplomatic.[48] It is argued here, however, that traces of written sources other than standardised geographical returns do find their way into the text and appear in the presence or omission of certain pieces of information, the way that entries are ordered, and the linguistic formulae used to express them. Some of these irregularities in Exon Fiefs relate to the choice or spelling of particular words or the syntax of individual sentences, while others are more structural, like the order in which different hundreds appear within a fief, or deviations from the standard composition of quires. Some are at least partly palaeographical; for example, the incidence of scribal corrections for different landholders.

Stephen Baxter has already identified one example of a pre-existing document demonstrably informing the text of an Exon entry in an episcopal context in the description of Bishop Walkelin of Winchester's manor of

[47] The Latin text quoted is that found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.1, fol. 179r. The translation is mine, though I draw on Frank Thorn's translation in 'Non Pascua sed Pastura', p. 112.
[48] Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 5.

Taunton.[49] He has demonstrated that the account of the customs of Taunton in Exon Fiefs was based, at least in part, on a vernacular Taunton chirograph, probably issued during the early years of the Conqueror's reign and now preserved in the *Codex Wintoniensis*.[50] The account of Walkelin's fief was written by a scribe whose hand appears nowhere else in the Exon manuscript.[51] Moreover, it concludes with the often-cited statement that King William had confirmed lands and customs to Bishop Walkelin at Salisbury, and ordered the bishop of Durham to write down the grants 'in breuibus'.[52] J. C. Holt recognised that this probably meant the Exon manuscript, along with the other circuit returns, was at Salisbury in August 1086, when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that all the landholders 'of any account over all England' came and did homage to King William for their lands.[53]

The account of Walkelin's Somerset fief is thus significant and anomalous in a number of ways. This chapter, however, is concerned with the parts of Exon Fiefs which are ostensibly more mundane. It compares textual features of all of the surviving entries for the bishops of the south-western dioceses, and the sheriffs of the counties which comprised those dioceses (excluding Berkshire), with a sample of entries for other Exon tenants-in-chief. It then suggests some possible types of document to which the compilers of the Exon manuscript may have referred and some ways in which the bishops of the

[49] EDB 173b5; Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 5.
[50] Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 5; the *Codex Wintoniensis* is London, British Library, Add. MS 15350.
[51] Francisco Alvarez Lopez, palaeographical description of Exon, fols. 173v–175v.
[52] EDB 175a6.
[53] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), (E) *s.a.* 1086, p. 162; J. C. Holt, '1086', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 41–64, p. 44.

south-western dioceses might have contributed to the process of its compilation. The Bishop of Coutances is considered in his dual capacity as a secular landholder, who presided over a diocese not covered by the Domesday survey, but also as a bishop and therefore important in any analysis of the episcopal role in the Domesday process.

In searching the Exon text itself for traces of its possible sources, I have been influenced by Stephen Baxter's approach in his 2001 article 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book'. Baxter made a strong case for the utility of the formulae found in Great Domesday Book in illuminating written sources, now lost, which may have contributed to its production.[54] He analysed some 3450 Domesday entries, 100 sampled at random from each shire, and considered the order, wording and content of the tenurial formulae they employ, presenting his results in tabular form. From the norms thereby established for each circuit, he was able to highlight and attempt to explain certain peculiarities in the way that tenurial information was recorded in the Great Domesday account of the Bishop of Worcester's fief.

My own methodology is more qualitative than Baxter's and less strictly diplomatic. While I have tried to offer breadth, through a judicious sampling of entries, I rely more heavily on case studies and less on larger datasets of standard formulae. In addition to the entries for diocesan bishops and sheriffs, my sample also includes ten entries for every tenant-in-chief other than bishops and sheriffs, excluding royal estates.[55] In other circumstances, however, such as

[54] Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', pp. 73–4.
[55] Exceptions to this rule are small fiefs containing fewer than ten entries, in which case the entire fief has been included, and the very large fiefs of the Bishop of Coutances and the Count of Mortain, from each of which twenty entries have been sampled.

when analysing the hundredal order of entries, or the incidence of scribal correction, non-episcopal fiefs are considered in their entirety.

This chapter will first consider the order in which entries appear in Exon, then the evidence of individual word choices, formulae and spellings within the corpus of sampled entries, and finally the regularity with which scribal corrections appear in individual fiefs. Each of these sections will compare the approach taken by the scribes when recording bishops' and sheriffs' holdings with the non-episcopal and non-shrieval norm, where a norm can be established. In seeking to illuminate ways in which a range of written material might have contributed to the Domesday process in the south-western dioceses, I do not deny that specifically produced returns were the primary source for the Exon Fiefs text. An administrative undertaking as formidable as the Domesday survey, however, must have required its commissioners to use every governmental mechanism and pre-existing repository of information at their disposal. Thus, even if Exon Fiefs itself was copied mostly from regular hundredal returns, it is highly likely that information was drawn from a variety of documentary sources during the earlier stages of the survey.

Hundredal order

The historiography of Exon Domesday has been shaped, to a large extent, by V. H. Galbraith's emphatic refutation of J. H. Round's 'geld book' hypothesis. The text was rather infamously ignored by Round, who relegated it to a footnote in his *Feudal England* — 'It will be observed that I do not touch the *Liber*

Exoniensis'[56] — a statement which 'Galbraith delighted in quoting'.[57] If Round had neglected Exon, Galbraith did quite the opposite, positioning the text at the heart of his 'new hypothesis' about the nature and purpose of the Domesday survey.[58] For Galbraith the feudally arranged Exon text, which groups together all the entries for each individual tenant-in-chief, was representative of a stage of the Domesday process which must have existed for each of the seven circuits which the Conqueror's commissioners surveyed.[59] He saw Exon as the key to the survey and used it to refute Round's earlier suggestion that the first stage of the process was a uniform series of geographically arranged hundred returns, along the lines of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.[60]

More recently parts of Galbraith's own argument have been challenged, by David Roffe and Colin Flight among others.[61] Though the balance between feudal and geographical sources for the surviving portion of Exon Fiefs remains difficult to identify with certainty, the hundredal order of the entries does indicate that geographical organising principles were at work in the compilation of the text, alongside tenurial ones.[62] These were identified in a 1959 article on 'The Exeter Domesday and its Construction' by Rex Welldon Finn, who noted that 'though there are inconsistencies and interruptions, in each fief the Hundreds appear in a sequence the regularity of which is most

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[56] J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895), p. 122, n. 265.
[57] Colin Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England: Studies of the Documentation Resulting from the Survey Conducted in 1086,* British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 405 (Oxford, 2006), p. 3, n. 10.
[58] Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, especially Chapter 8.
[59] Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, pp. 31–2.
[60] Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 19–26.
[61] See, for example, David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 11–3; Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 4.
[62] For further, detailed discussion of hundredal order in Exon, see Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 5.

marked, and all holdings in a fief within a single Hundred normally come together.'[63] As shown below, his verdict somewhat overstates the geographical regularity of the text. Indeed, even David Roffe's more measured contention that a starting point for further study of the organising principles of the text 'might be the account of the lands of the Count of Mortain in Cornwall which seems to be arranged geographically' does not fully convey the extent and frequency of the deviations from a regular hundredal order in Exon Fiefs. [64] Nevertheless there are patterns and they may serve to illuminate the role played by written hundredal returns in the compilation of Exon.

It is important to note that the names of hundreds are not recorded in the text of Exon Fiefs and so establishing a hundredal order for entries requires the identification of individual place names and either an existing knowledge of where the 1086 hundred boundaries lay or cross referencing with entries in the geld accounts. I have followed the identifications made by Frank Thorn in his translation of the Exon text, which are based on the combined evidence of Exon Fiefs, the geld accounts, the hundred lists for Devon, Cornwall and Somerset which are also contained in the manuscript, Great Domesday Book, and later administrative boundaries.[65]

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[63] R. W. Finn, 'The Exeter Domesday and its Construction', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41 (1959), 360–87.

[64] David Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 38.

[65] Frank Thorn, 'Translation of Exon Domesday', 'Exon: The Domesday Survey of South West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 12.11.17); for the hundred lists see Exon fols. 65r–71r. See also the 'County Maps', *Electronic Anderson*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson>, (Accessed 01.09.16), which are based on Thorn's identifications for the *Victoria County History* series.

Such inferences can pose the danger of a circular argument; a particular vill may be assumed to be in a particular hundred because its neighbours are known to have been in that hundred and then that attribution may be relied upon in drawing hundredal boundaries. Peter Sawyer's 1955 article on 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book' demonstrated, however, that a consistent hundredal order is in evidence in the Great Domesday text for Devon and Dorset and that 'Somerset and Cornwall probably have a consistent hundredal order'.[66] A level of consistency ought also to be expected, therefore, in the text of Exon Fiefs and, provided that a reasonable degree of caution is exercised with regard to places which lie near the borders of hundreds, Thorn's identifications may be used with confidence to chart the hundredal order of Exon entries.

On the basis of these identifications, therefore, Table 5 records the hundredal order of the Exon accounts of the fiefs of a number of tenants-in-chief who held land in Devon, Somerset or Cornwall. Included are the bishops of Exeter, Wells and Coutances, sheriffs Baldwin of Devon and William de Moyon of Somerset and three lay magnates, Robert, count of Mortain, Walscin/Walter de Douai, and Ralph de La Pommeraye. The hundred names highlighted in red indicate places in the text where a scribe returned to copy entries for hundreds which had already appeared earlier in the fief. The number of entries which comprise each hundredal stint is not recorded, but the table highlights how often the text deviates from a regular hundredal order and whether these variations disproportionately affect certain hundreds or tenants-in-chief.

[66] Sawyer, 'Original Returns', p. 181.

Table 5: Hundredal order in the fiefs of selected tenants-in-chief

	Cornwall	*Devon*	*Somerset*
Bishop Osbern of Exeter	Winnianton Tybesta Pawton **Stratton** **Rillaton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** Connerton Fawton **?Rillaton**	South Tawton Crediton Exminster Braunton South Molton Hemyock Wonford Silverton Budleigh **Kerswell** Teignbridge Witheridge **Kerswell** Colyton Chillington	
Bishop Giso of Wells			**Abdick** Kingsbury Wiveliscombe Wellington Lydeard Winterstoke Wells **Abdick** Chew Portbury Bempstone Bruton
Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances		Lifton Black Torrington Hartland Merton Fremington North Tawton **Shirwell** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** **South Molton** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** **South Molton** **Shirwell**	South Petherton Tintinhull Cheddar Carhampton Winterstoke Chew **Portbury** **Keynsham** Bempstone Bedminster **Portbury** **Keynsham** **Portbury** **Hartcliffe** **Portbury** **Hartcliffe** **Portbury** **Hartcliffe** Bath **Keynsham**

	Cornwall	*Devon*	*Somerset*
		Braunton **South Molton** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Wonford** Silverton Budleigh Bampton Witheridge Tiverton **Teignbridge** Colyton Axminster **Teignbridge** Plympton **Wonford**	**Portbury** **Hartcliffe** **Wellow** **Kilmersdon** **Wellow** **Kilmersdon** **Frome** **Wellow** **Frome** **Wellow** Chewton Bruton Milborne/Horethorn
William de Moyon, sheriff of Somerset		Bampton	North Petherton Cannington South Petherton Sheriffs Brompton Cutcombe **Minehead** **Carhampton** **Minehead** **Carhampton** Williton Milverton Abdick Andersfield Taunton Frome Bruton Milborne/Horethorn
Baldwin of Exeter, sheriff of Devon		Lifton Black Torrington Hartland Merton North Tawton Exminster **Shirwell** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** **Shirwell** **Braunton** Bampton **South Molton** **Braunton** **South Molton**	Carhampton Kilmersdon Milverton

	Cornwall	*Devon*	*Somerset*
		Braunton **Cliston** **Braunton** **Cliston** **Braunton** Silverton **Wonford** **Hemyock** **Wonford** **Hemyock** **Wonford** **Hemyock** **Wonford** **Budleigh** **Wonford** **Budleigh** **Cliston** Witheridge **Teignbridge** Tiverton **Teignbridge** Halberton Kerswell Axminster **Colyton** **Axmouth** **Colyton** **Axmouth** **Colyton** Chillington	
Robert, count of Mortain	**Winnianton** **Fawton** **Stratton** **Fawton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** **Stratton** Tybesta **Connerton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** **?Fawton** **Rillaton** **Connerton** **Stratton** **Connerton**	Black Torrington South Tawton Merton Fremington Exminster Braunton Bampton 'Cliston' Wonford Silverton Budleigh Witheridge **Kerswell** Axminster **Colyton** **Kerswell** **Colyton** **Ermington** Diptford **Ermington**	

	Cornwall	*Devon*	*Somerset*
	Rillaton **Stratton** **Rillaton** **?Stratton** **Rillaton** **?Stratton** **Winnianton** **Stratton** **Rillaton** **Stratton** **Fawton**	Plympton Walkhampton	
Ralph de la Pommeraye		Lifton Black Torrington Fremington Exminster Shirwell 'Cliston' Silverton Hemyock **Wonford** Budleigh Witheridge **Tiverton** Teignbridge **Tiverton** **Kerswell** **Tiverton** **Kerswell** **Axminster** Colyton Chillington **Wonford** **Axminster**	Carhampton
Walscin de Douai		Braunton Bampton South Molton Wonford Witheridge Teignbridge Kerswell Axminster Chillington	**North Petherton** Winterstoke **Bempstone** Bruton **North Petherton** **Bempstone** Huntspill **Bempstone** Chewton Frome **Bempstone** Milborne/Horethorn

The most immediately evident observations to be made from the table are just how often the regular order of the hundreds seems to break down, and how much more this appears to affect some fiefs than others. In total, the table contains 131 groups of entries for hundreds which are not repeated within the same fief, compared with 139 groups of entries for repeated hundreds. Where repetitions do occur, the entries in question tend to alternate between pairs of hundreds, or sometimes a small group of three hundreds. This phenomenon can be seen, for example, in the record of the holdings of Sheriff Baldwin in Devon, with significant stretches of text in which entries alternate first between the hundreds of Shirwell and Braunton, then South Molton, Braunton and Cliston, then Wonford, Hemyock and Budleigh, and finally Axmouth and Colyton.[67] There is also notable consistency in the hundreds which are *not* repeated within any of the sampled fiefs. Examples of hundreds where all the relevant entries appear grouped together include Lifton, Black Torrington, North Tawton and Bampton in Devon, Winterstoke, South Petherton and Milborne/Horethorn in Somerset, and Tybesta in Cornwall.

For the most part, therefore, the same hundreds tend to be repeated or not repeated across individual fiefs and where there are repetitions these usually take the form of entries alternating between pairs or small groups of hundreds. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule. First there are several examples of fiefs where only a single hundred appears twice. These include Kerswell in the Bishop of Exeter's Devon holdings, Abdick in Bishop Giso's Somerset fief and Tollerford among William de Moyon's lands in Dorset.[68]

[67] EDB 288a1–315b2.
[68] EDB 119a2, 120a1–2; EDB 156a2, 158b2; EDB 47b2, 48b1–49a1.

At the other extreme lie the lands of the Count of Mortain in Cornwall, a county in which he held almost all of the available land, in the account of which only the hundred of Tybesta is not repeated.[69] Each of the other hundreds appear multiple times within Count Robert's fief, often alternating in pairs as with the examples mentioned above, but with significant overlap between different alternating sequences.

How can this balance between consistency and variation be explained and how do the possible explanations affect the hypothesis that the main source for Exon was a series of geographically arranged hundred returns, along the lines of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*? In describing the hundredal order of the entries for the Count of Mortain's holdings in Cornwall, Rex Welldon Finn characterised those entries which were out of sequence as 'postscriptal to the bulk of its entries'.[70] The implication was that a small number of anomalous entries were added later than the main copying process, as a postscript to a largely sequential account of the fief. This notion is contradicted by the data in Table 6, below, however, which indicates not only the hundredal order of the Cornish lands of the Count of Mortain, but also the number of entries comprising each hundredal stint.

[69] EDB 224a1–264b5.
[70] Finn, 'The Exeter Domesday and its Construction', p. 373.

Table 6: Hundredal order in the count of Mortain's fief in Cornwall

Folio/entry references	*Hundred*	*Number of entries per stint*
224a2 – 227a5	Winnianton	16
228a1 – 232a1	Fawton	26
232a2 – 233b3	Stratton	12
234a2 – 236b3	Fawton	19
237a1 – 241b3	Stratton	35
242a1	?Stratton or Rillaton	1
242a2 – 242b1	Stratton	3
242b2 – 243a1	?Rillaton	3
243a2 – 244b3	Stratton	12
245a1	Rillaton	1
245a2	Stratton	1
245a3 – 245b1	Rillaton	3
245b2 – 245b3	Stratton	2
247a2 – 254b3	Tybesta	48
255a2 – 255b2	Connerton	4
255b3	Stratton	1
256a1 – 257a3	Rillaton	9
257b1	?Fawton	1
257b2 – 258b2	Rillaton	8
258b3	Connerton	1
259a1 – 260a3	Stratton	9
260a4 – 260b1	Connerton	2
260b2	?Rillaton	1
261a1	Stratton	1
261a2 – 262a2	Rillaton	9
262a3	?Stratton	1
262a4	Rillaton	1
262a5	?Stratton	1
262b2	Winnianton	1
262b3 – 263b2	Stratton	7
263b3 – 264b1	Rillaton	7
264b2 - 264b4	Stratton	3
264b5	Fawton	1

We can see that there *is* a general trend from larger groups of entries for manors in the same hundred at the beginning of the fief to smaller groups or single entries at the end, but the bulk of entries from individual hundreds are not always found together. Three separate substantial sections deal with manors in the hundred of Stratton, for instance, each comprising more than ten entries, with the longest section being 35 entries. Entries for manors in Rillaton hundred, meanwhile, are split between nine, or possibly ten, sections, none of which contain more than nine consecutive entries. The striking exception to the general impression of discontinuity are the forty-eight entries for manors in Tybesta Hundred, which form their own discrete quire.[71] Overall, however, the sequence of the Count of Mortain's Cornish lands is simply too irregular to be accurately characterised as a majority of sequential entries followed by a minority of 'postscriptal' ones.

Moreover, Finn's analysis does not help to explain why entries from pairs or small groups of hundreds so often alternate in the middle of the account of a fief, before sometimes returning to a neat sequence of discrete hundreds at the end, as is the case with the Somerset lands of the Bishop of Coutances and William de Moyon.[72] The frequency of these alternating patterns points towards a more systematic reason for the repetitions than scribes simply adding occasional entries to the end of fiefs which had perhaps been omitted in error or where information had arrived only belatedly. An alternative hypothesis is that the geographically arranged booklets which formed the main source of Exon Fiefs may already have been grouped together in some instances

[71] Exon. fols. 247r–254v.
[72] EDB 136b1–152a2; EDB 356a3–364b2.

to cover pairs or small groups of hundreds. This model helps to explain not only the alternating patterns that are so often evident in the hundredal order of the Exon text, but also why the same hundreds are consistently subject or not subject to repetitions. It could also plausibly lead to accounts of fiefs which end in sequence, having been apparently disordered for most of their length.

Usually, though not always, these alternating hundreds are geographically adjacent and very often they are also those with detached portions, which were thus divided into two or more discrete areas of land.[73] For example, in the fiefs of the Bishop of Coutances and Sheriff Baldwin of Exeter, entries for the hundreds of Shirwell, Braunton and South Molton appear in similar alternating patterns. These three Devon hundreds all have detached portions. Together they form a contiguous internally interlocking territorial block in the far north of the county but individually each of them is geographically fragmented.[74]

It makes sense, therefore, that information about manors in these hundreds should have been collected together, while geographically cohesive hundreds such as Black Torrington, Lifton and North Tawton were each treated separately. Similar instances of neighbouring hundreds apparently being treated together in a single written return can be seen later in Baldwin's fief

[73] According to maps created by Martin Williams for the UCL Archeology Institute's *Electronic Anderson* project, on the basis of 'evidence from nineteenth-century administrative boundaries (courtesy of the major project at the University of Cambridge 'The occupational structure of Britain 1379-1911'), the Alecto Domesday (Thorn 1992), and revisions', <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson> (Accessed 25.06.2016).
[74] Map of Devon, *Electronic Anderson*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/CountyMaps/Devon> (Accessed 25.06.2016).

with a run of entries alternating between Colyton and Axmouth Hundreds in Devon,[75] as well as in the entries for Minehead and Carhampton in William de Moyon's Somerset holdings, and Portbury, Hartcliffe and Keynsham in those of the Bishop of Coutances.[76] There are exceptions to this rule. Wonford and Hemyock hundreds, which alternate in the account of Sheriff Baldwin's Devon holdings, do not share a border.[77] Neither do Kerswell and Tiverton, which follow a similar pattern in the fief of Ralph de La Pommeraye.[78] As a rule, however, where entries from individual hundreds are not kept entirely discrete, they tend to be grouped together in batches with entries from neighbouring hundreds.

Moreover, it is significant that changes of hand often correspond with changes of hundred.[79] For instance, there is only one example of a change of hand occurring within a block of entries from the same hundred in the account of the lands of Bishop Osbern in Devon.[80] Every other change of hand in Osbern's fief corresponds with a change in hundred. The account of William de Moyon's lands in Somerset also contains only one change of hand which does not correspond with a change of hundred.[81] Fourteen out of twenty-five changes of hand in the account of Baldwin of Exeter's holdings also mark

[75] EDB 313b3–314b2.bishop
[76] EDB 158a1–160b2; EDB 141b4–143b2. Map of Somerset, *Electronic Anderson*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/CountyMaps/Somerset> (Accessed 25.06.2016).
[77] EDB 303b4–308a2.
[78] EDB 342a1–b1.
[79] For a full visual representation on all the places where the hundredal sequence becomes disordered in Exon Fiefs and how the sequence maps onto changes in hand see the interactive model at 'Hundredal Order', 'Exon: The Domesday Survery of South-West England', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/lab/hundreds/> (Accessed 26.09.16).
[80] EDB 120b2.
[81] EDB 360b1.

changes of hundred,[82] as do twenty-five out of thirty-four for the Bishop of Coutances.[83]

The frequency with which changes of scribe and hundred coincide adds to the already considerable burden of evidence which suggests that the Exon scribes were copying predominantly from geographically arranged hundred returns. These returns, however, might sometimes have covered a group of adjacent hundreds and treated them as a single unit, helping to explain the appearance of alternating patterns in the hundredal order of so many fiefs. Indeed Frank Thorn has suggested that in Wessex in particular, hundreds might often have been combined for administrative purposes into larger groupings based on ancient territorial units focused on royal meeting places and estates, and bounded by natural features such as hills or rivers.[84]

The conflation of neighbouring hundreds into combined returns goes some way towards explaining the frequency with which the text of Exon Fiefs deviates from a regular hundredal order. In places where irregularities cannot be explained entirely on the grounds of geographical proximity, another possible explanation is suggested by Colin Flight's hypothesis regarding how the actual work of copying Exon may have proceeded.[85] Flight suggested that a series of geographical returns, which he referred to as B booklets, were laid out side by side in a writing office. A group of scribes then worked from them

[82] EDB 290a2, 294b3, 297a1, 298a2, 299b3, 308a3, 309a2, 309a4, 309b1, 311b1, 312a4, 312b2, 313a2, 314b3.
[83] EDB 121b2, 122b3, 123a1, 123b3, 124b3, 125a3, 128a2, 131a3, 134a1, 134b2, 135a1, 135a2, 135a3, 135a4, 135b1, 136b1, 137a1, 137a2, 139a1, 140a3, 141b1, 141b2, 141b3, 141b4, 145b1.
[84] Frank Thorn, 'Defining 'Winterstoke' Hundred, Somerset' *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 154 (2011), 119–40, p. 140.
[85] Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, pp. 127–8.

simultaneously, each taking one B booklet at a time and copying material relating to a single tenant-in-chief, an account of whose fief they were engaged in compiling in an individual C booklet. These C booklets were the Exon Fiefs text. Flight also noted that some of the Exon scribes were likely to have written more quickly than others.[86]

Such a scenario, with scribes copying at different rates from a single series of booklets and under pressure to complete their task as quickly as possible, might well have led to situations where two scribes working in parallel both required the same hundred booklet simultaneously. The Exon scribes worked quickly and presumably tried to minimise the amount of time they wasted.[87] Depending on how much of a premium was placed on maintaining a regular hundredal order in the accounts of individual fiefs, a scribe waiting to copy from a hundredal booklet already in use might either have moved on to the next hundred and returned later, or have left the C booklet he had been working on next to the relevant B booklet, ready for another scribe to begin copying the next hundred in the sequence, and himself taken another C booklet and begun the process again from the beginning. This hypothesis could potentially help to explain both the frequency with which changes of hand and of hundred coincide and also the tendency, described above, for accounts of fiefs to begin with longer hundredal stints before becoming disordered later in their length as scribes became increasingly likely to require B booklets which were already in use.

[86] Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 125.
[87] Crick and Alvarez Lopez, 'Decision-making and work flow in Exon Domesday'.

Specifically produced hundred returns, therefore, seem to have been the primary source for Exon Fiefs. Yet a closer analysis of the text reveals irregularities which are difficult to explain if such returns were its *only* source. They suggest that the Exon scribes sometimes drew upon pre-existing written material, unrelated to the Domesday survey, and in some cases they seem to indicate deliberate attempts by outside agencies to shape the way that information was recorded in the Exon text. It is to these irregularities that this chapter now turns.

Formulaic and orthographical variation in Exon entries

The portion of Exon Fiefs which survives includes all the lands of the cathedral church of Exeter in Devon and Cornwall, and those of Bishop Giso of Wells in Somerset, all but one estate of Sheriff Baldwin and the fief of William de Moyon, apparently in its entirety. Only two entries apiece survive, however, for the Bishop of Salisbury and for Edward of Salisbury, the sheriff of Wiltshire, and none for Aiulf, the sheriff of Dorset.

That the surviving portion exists at all is apparently thanks to its utility to the cathedral community in Exeter as a record of that church's estates, as demonstrated by marginal annotations in numerous later hands in the section of the text dealing with the Exeter holdings.[88] Colin Flight suggested that the manuscript might have arrived in the cathedral chapter at Exeter from wherever it was originally compiled under the auspices of the ambitious early-

[88] Crick, Alvarez Lopez, and Lane, 'Le Recensement Domesday Exon'.

twelfth-century bishop of Exeter, William Warelwast, since 'the sooner we can extract these booklets from a milieu where their chances of survival are almost nil, the sooner we can insert them into a milieu where their chances are fairly good, the less utterly unlikely it will seem that they still exist'.[89]

Under the force of his own logic, however, it is tempting to push back the probable date of the manuscript's journey to Exeter even further, into the episcopate of Bishop Osbern. The completion of the copying of Great Domesday Book, whenever precisely it occurred, may well have rendered the products of earlier stages of the survey redundant to the royal regime at the centre, and Osbern's prior administrative experience, family connections, and spell in the royal chapel, would all have left him well placed to acquire a text which could be of future use to his bishopric.[90] Certainly annotations such as those on folios 117r–120v, which draw attention to various manors held by the bishop of Exeter in Devon, indicate that the manuscript was used in an administrative context in the cathedral chapter at Exeter during the Middle Ages.[91]

The model for a 'standard' Domesday entry, as summarised in the terms of reference in the *Inqusitio Eliensis*, has already been discussed above.[92] The existence of such a clear frame of reference ought to make identifying irregularities straightforward but in reality the process is complicated by a number of factors. First there is the difficulty of establishing whether any

[89] Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 55.
[90] For Osbern's background see Chapter 1, pp. 48–9.
[91] See Francisco Alvarez Lopez, palaeographical and codicological description for Exon, fols. 117r–120v. <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view/?center=codicology> (Accessed 12.11.17).
[92] See above, pp. 152–3,

deviation from the standard pattern of an entry reflects actual circumstances on the ground or is solely a formal or textual phenomenon.

The entries in the account of the fief of Bishop Giso of Wells, for instance, tend to be much longer and less consistent than those dealing with the holdings of the sheriff of Somerset, William de Moyon, in the same county.[93] This might have resulted from the fact that the bishop's estates were actually larger and more complex than the sheriff's. The seventeen manors that Giso held in 1086, all of which were located in Somerset, came to a total of 282 hides and one virgate.[94] William, meanwhile, held fifty-eight manors in Somerset (more than three times as many of the bishop) but they comprised just 111 hides and two virgates in total.[95] It might also be the case, however, that different compilation and copying processes were employed in writing up different holders' estates. Often it is impossible to know for sure whether a variation from the normal form of an entry ought to be classed as a textual or diplomatic irregularity or whether it indicates some kind of genuinely abnormal circumstance on the ground.

Moreover, some features which seem, within the context of the Domesday corpus, to be peculiarities of the Exon text, actually emerge as being far less unusual when viewed against the background of other contemporary sources. For example *nemus* is consistently employed to denote woodland in Exon, whereas Great Domesday Book overwhelmingly uses the more common

[93] EDB 156a1–160a3; EDB 356a2–364b2
[94] The same figure is found in Stephen Baxter, 'Giso 1, bishop of Wells, fl. 1066 × 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/> (Accessed 13.11.17) and by adding up the totals for each estate found in Keynes, 'Giso', Appendix 5, pp. 269–71.
[95] Stephen Baxter, 'William 46, de Moyon, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/> (Accessed 13.11.17).

Latin word *silva*.[96] The use of *nemus* in Exon might, therefore, be considered strange, especially given that the word is more often found in a poetic context, as Frank Thorn has argued.[97] Yet in fact I have found a number of eleventh-century Anglo-Norman royal and ducal charters in which the word appears, and its use in an administrative context is thus less peculiar than it seems from the Domesday corpus alone.[98]

With all these caveats in mind, it is still sometimes possible to identify textual discrepancies in the way that information is recorded which suggest that the material from which the scribes were copying was less standardised than the final document they produced. These variations do not only affect the holdings of bishops, though they are arguably most pronounced there, but they do suggest that the scribes were using the products of the established written documentary culture in the late eleventh-century South West.[99]

It is just as important when considering the sources of Domesday texts to take note of information which is omitted as well as that which is included. One striking example of irregularity through omission occurs at the start of the account of the lands of Bishop Osbern of Exeter. Of the first ten Exeter entries only two state who held the manor in the time of King Edward.[100] In both cases the TRE holder was someone other than the Bishop of Exeter. The omission of

[96] H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 176.
[97] Thorn, 'Non Pascua sed Pastura', p. 123.
[98] See, for example, Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066, complété d'un index rerum par Lucien Musset*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen: Société d'impressions Caron, 1961), nos. 55, 64; David Bates, *'Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), nos. 47, 99(I), 117, 215, 258, 260, 281(II), 298.
[99] See above, pp. 150–1.
[100] EDB 117b3, 117b4.

the TRE holder from the remaining eight entries suggests that Scribes Alpha and Beta initially assumed that they did not need to record who held an estate in the time of King Edward if that estate had simply belonged to Bishop Osbern's antecessor, Bishop Leofric. From the beginning of folio 118v, however, the formula 'which Bishop Leofric held on the day when King Edward was alive and dead' (*quam tenuit Leuricus episcopus die qua rex Eduuardus fuit uiuus et mortuus*) begins to be inserted in the standard place, after the name of the manor.[101]

Similarly, the second entry for Bishop Giso of Wells, and the first for a manor which he already held in 1066, has 'which he himself held in the time of King Edward' (*quam ipse tenuit tempore Edwardi regis*) inserted into the text as an interlineation by Scribe Eta, who wrote the entry.[102] While Benoît-Michel Tock has demonstrated that there were contexts in which French scribes used interlineation as a deliberate stylistic choice,[103] in this particular instance the addition of an entire clause would seem to indicate that Eta was adding information to the text which was either omitted from his source or which he had not initially copied from it. In this case and in that of the early part of the bishop of Exeter's fief, it is possible that some supervising presence intervened and instructed the scribes to record who held each manor pre-Conquest, even if that holder was the same church or bishop as in 1086.

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[101] From EDB 118b1.

[102] EDB 156a3; Francisco Alvarez Lopez, palaeographical and codicological description for Exon, fol. 156r, <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view/?center=codicology> (Accessed 20.09.16).

[103] Benoît-Michel Tock, *Scribes, souscripteurs et témoins dans les actes privés en France (VIIe-début XIIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), p. 96.

Another element recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* which is omitted from a significant minority of Exon entries is the value of a manor when it was received. Fourteen of the nineteen entries for the estates of Bishop Giso, for instance, record only the 1086 value and not how much the manor was worth when the bishop received it.[104] Most of the manors from which this information is omitted are those which the bishop already held before the death of Edward the Confessor and there are certainly parallels to be drawn with the omission of the TRE holders from the early entries in the Bishop of Exeter's fief.

It may be the case that Bishop Giso and Bishop Osbern each provided the Domesday commissioners with a written account of their entire fief, separate from the hundred returns which were the main source for the Exon Fiefs text. If the two bishops did provide individual returns, then perhaps these did not record the pre-Conquest holder of an estate, or its value when received, in cases where the bishop already held the estate in 1066. This would help to explain why this information is omitted so frequently from the accounts of the two bishops' holdings in Exon Fiefs.

There are two entries in Bishop Giso's fief, however, which omit the value of the estate when received even though the estates in question had been acquired by the bishop after the Conquest. These are Banwell (Somerset),[105] previously held by Harold Godwinesson, the full significance of which is discussed further below, and Yatton (Somerset)[106] whose TRE holder is simply

[104] EDB 156a3, 156a4, 156b2, 156b3, 157a1, 157a2, 157b1, 158a1, 158b1, 159a1, 159b1, 160a2, 160a3, 160a4.
[105] EDB 157a2.
[106] EDB 159b1.

described as John.[107] It is possible of course that in these two cases the value was simply unknown, a deceptively simple explanation which might also account for occasional failures to provide an earlier value in the fiefs of other tenants-in-chief; for example Bishop Osbern's manor of Staverton (Devon)[108] or Tapeley (Devon), held by the Bishop of Coutances.[109] Yet it is surely significant that the entries dealing with the lands of sheriffs Baldwin and William always give the value of the estate now and when received, as specified in the terms of reference. It is one of the clearest examples of the high degree of regularity displayed by the entries for the sheriffs' holdings in Exon vis-à-vis those of bishops.

In her discussion of 'Episcopal Returns in Domesday', Pamela Taylor demonstrated that, in the case of the Great Domesday account of Archbishop Lanfranc's holdings, silence about pre-Conquest tenures might reflect a deliberate policy on Lanfranc's part to suppress information which was potentially unfavourable to Canterbury, as well as an attempt to airbrush his predecessor, Stigand, out of official history.[110] While there is no evidence that the absence of TRE tenures and values from so many episcopal entries in Exon indicates a deliberate attempt at manipulation by the bishops of the south-western dioceses, the omission of such important information is nevertheless striking.

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[107] For the identification of this individual as 'John the Dane' and probable sheriff of Herefordshire see Chris Lewis, 'John 37, the Dane, fl. 1066', *PASE Domesday* <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 27. 09.16).
[108] EDB 120a1.
[109] EDB 124a3.
[110] Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', pp. 211–5.

As well as identifying information which was omitted from the Exon text, it is of course necessary to analyse peculiar, non-standard or inexplicable information which found its way in. Almost every Domesday entry provides details of the number of villans or slaves on an estate, for instance, but there is also scope for less commonly recorded groups of people to appear in certain, hard-to-define contexts. Exon most commonly records numbers of *bordarii* after the number of *villani* for each manor, in contrast with the terms of reference which specifically ask for numbers of *cotarii*.[111] Yet on a number of occasions, among which no immediately discernible pattern or links can be readily identified, cottars *do* appear in the text of Exon.

Sometimes these references occur in entries which are unusual in other ways too. For example, the final Devon entry for the Bishop of Exeter, apart from his churches and houses within the city itself, is for the manor of Slapton in Chillington Hundred where, it is recorded, there were 26 villans and 21 cottars (and no bordars at all).[112] It is possible that this is simply a reflection of the real fact that there were cottars rather than bordars living in Slapton, but there are other peculiarities about this entry that suggest this was not the case. Written by a scribe, Kappa, who does not appear elsewhere in the account of Bishop Osbern's fief and who wrote only a few entries overall,[113] it fails to note the TRE holder of the manor and expresses larger numbers in a compound 'x + y' format. It records, for example, that 'twenty-and-six ploughs can plough

[111] Although note that Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.1, fol. 179r, has a distorted form of the word: *cothcethle*, while Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.41, p. 161, has the abbreviated form *cot'*.
[112] EDB 120b2.
[113] Francisco Alvarez Lopez, 'Hand: Kappa, Exeter 3500', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/hands> (Accessed 29.06.16).

these' six hides (*Has possunt arare .xx 7 .vi. carrucae*) and that the bishop's subtenant, sheriff Baldwin, had 'twenty-and-six villans' there (*.xx. et .vi. uillanos*).

Cottars also appear in the accounts of Bishop Osmund of Salisbury's manor of Chilcompton and that of Bishop Giso at Wedmore,[114] but their appearance is not restricted to episcopal estates. Other entries which mention cottars include those for William de Moyon's manors of Brewham and Bathealton in Somerset and Chilfrome in Dorset, for Hurpston (Dorset), belonging to the widow of former sheriff Hugh fitzGrip, Bloxworth and Affpuddle (Dorset), belonging to the Abbot of Cerne and no fewer than twelve manors of the Abbot of Glastonbury.[115]

Nothing immediately evident links these entries. Some are for large and complex manors, while others, like Bathealton, are straightforward in every other respect. References to cottars appear in Devon, Somerset and Dorset, though notably not in Cornwall, and among the holdings of a variety of ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief. One intriguing possibility, however, for how cottars might have come to be found in this irregular minority of Exon entries emerges from a distinction drawn long ago by F. W. Maitland in his *Domesday Book and Beyond*.[116] As a legal scholar, Maitland was primarily concerned with identifying the legal difference between bordars and cottars and as far as possible with mapping their geographical distribution, though he

[114] EDB 154a2; EDB 159b2.
[115] EDB 364b1; EDB 362b3; EDB 48b1; EDB 60b2; EDB 36b2; EDB 36b3; EDB 165b2, 166b1, 167a1, 167a2, 167b1, 168a1, 169a1, 169b2, 170a2, 170b1, 170b2, 171a1.
[116] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897, revised edn. with foreword by J. C. Holt ,1987), pp. 39–41.

recognised that the nature of the Domesday text made such a task all but impossible to perform with any accuracy. Almost as a side thought, however, he noted that 'while the *cot* is English, the *borde* is French', and this observation is significant.[117]

Given that we can be confident of the French origins of the Exon scribes, it makes sense that they would primarily have employed the French-derived term *bordarii*, even in opposition to the terms of reference in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. Yet cottars, whether rendered as *cotarii* or *cosceti*, have still managed to find their way into the text in a significant minority of entries.[118] In some cases their inclusion may indicate the existence of separate categories of people within the rural population of the lands in question but it might also suggest the existence of pre-existing documentary material, written in Old English, upon which the French scribes of Exon occasionally drew in their copying task.

This interpretation might help to explain the disproportionately high number of references to cottars among the holdings of the Abbot of Glastonbury, given that Glastonbury was 'one of the best documented monasteries of Anglo-Saxon England',[119] and perhaps also why there are no references to them at all in the account of Sheriff Baldwin's fief, if the sheriff was especially assiduous in reporting to the Domesday commissioners exactly as he was supposed to. Other very specific designations of types of people found in Exon entries, such as 'swineherds' (*porcarii*)[120] and 'salt workers'

[117] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 39.
[118] For *cotarii*, see, for example, EDB 150b1; for *cosceti* see EDB 121a2.
[119] *Anglo-Saxon Charters* XV: *Charters of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012), p. 1.
[120] EDB 117a3, 117a4, 118a1.

(*salinarii*),[121] are more likely to be reflections of their actual existence in those places, and perhaps not elsewhere, but the presence or absence of cottars seems to be as much a linguistic and textual question as an historical one.

Whereas variations in word choice — such as the appearance of cottars in place of bordars — may be supposed to reflect the existence of different kinds of written source at an earlier stage in the Domesday process, and their use by the compilers of the Exon manuscript, spelling variations are more usually attributed to individual scribal habit or preference. For example, Exon Fiefs contains two different Latinised forms of the Old French word *roncin*, which in the eleventh century referred to a workhorse or packhorse.[122] The three main scribes Alpha, Beta and Mu, as well as Theta, Iota and Lambda, all use a more French-inflected spelling, *roncinus*, while Eta, Omicron, Ksi, Epsilon, Gamma, Delta, Kappa and Zeta employ an alternative spelling, *runcinus*, which may be considered either as a more Latinised form, or perhaps as a more specifically Anglo-Norman one.[123] Either way, these alternate spellings are more likely to reveal something about the geographical origins of the scribes than about the sources from which they were working.

There are some instances, however, where spelling variations are difficult to attribute solely to the quirks of an individual scribe. For example, Scribe Gamma is notable for spelling *hyda* with a **y**, something which he did

[121] EDB 44b2, 94b2, 194b4, 336b1, 408a1.
[122] 'Roncin', *Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français*, <http://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/roncin> (Accessed 13.11.17); 'runcin', *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, <http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/runcin> (Accessed 13.11.17).
[123] 'Runcin', *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, <http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/runcin> (Accessed 13.11.17); 'runcinus', *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#runcinus> (Accessed 13.11.17).

consistently in all the entries he copied as part the account of Sheriff Baldwin's holdings, and which no other scribe did, in Baldwin's fief or elsewhere.[124] Gamma also used the spelling *hyda* in entries for manors held by the abbots of Glastonbury, Tavistock, and Buckfast.[125] This might seem unremarkable, were it not for the fact that in other places in the manuscript, such as in all the entries he copied for the bishop of Exeter's fief, Gamma employed the more normal spelling *hida*.[126] Indeed in one entry, for the manor of Welcombe (Devon), held by the Bishop of Coutances, gamma used the spelling *hyda* at the bottom of one page and *hida* at the top of the next, within the same entry.[127] Is this a demonstration of pure scribal whimsy or was Gamma trying to accommodate sources which employed both spellings? This question is impossible to answer confidently without further evidence. In another context, however, Carole Hough has convincingly demonstrated that the scribe of the early-twelfth-century legal compilation, the *Textus Roffensis*, adapted his spellings to reflect multiple exemplars, thus providing a clear parallel for such a practice.[128]

There are other instances, too, of orthographical variation even in entries written by the same scribe for the same tenant-in-chief in the same hundred. On folio 360r, for instance, in the account of William de Moyon's fief, there are two successive entries for the manors of Allercott and Myne, both in the hundred of Carhampton (Somerset), both recorded by Scribe Beta and both

[124] EDB 290a2–294b2, 301a2–3, 312a4–b1, 313a2–314b2.
[125] EDB 173a2; EDB 179a1; EDB 182a5.
[126] Exon. fols. 119r–20r, 120v.
[127] EDB, 122b3.
[128] Carole Hough, 'Palaeographical Evidence for the Compilation of the *Textus Roffensis*', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 57–79, especially p. 58.

with the same TRE holder's name.[129] That name is spelled differently in each of the two entries, however, being rendered as 'Lewin' in the entry for Allercott and 'Leuuin' in the one for Myne. The first spelling is more characteristic of Beta's usual practice. Elsewhere he records the names of TRE holders such as 'Edwoldus' and 'Ailwardus' in William de Moyon's fief, and 'Edwinus' and 'Edwardus' in that of the Bishop of Coutances.[130] The double **u** form of the name Leuuin is therefore the more unusual of the two but the very fact that there are two different versions given in two consecutive entries is noteworthy in itself.

Another peculiar orthographical variant between entries by the same scribe from the same hundred can be seen when comparing Sheriff Baldwin's manors of Torrington and *Helescaua* (unidentifiable as a modern place), in Merton hundred in Devon.[131] Both of these entries were written by Gamma, a scribe whose particular spelling of the word *hyda* has already been noted. Here in Torrington the clause describing the amount of land available for cultivation states that 'eight ploughs can plough this' (*hanc possunt arare octo carrucae*), spelling *octo* out as a full word.[132] By contrast the entry for *Helescaua* retains the normal Domesday ploughland formula '*hanc possunt arare .viii. carrucae*', using a roman numeral for the number eight.[133] This is not the only instance of the word *octo* appearing in full in Gamma's entries for the estates of Sheriff Baldwin. Elsewhere Gamma recorded that Baldwin had *octo* pigs at

[129] EDB 360a1, 360a2.
[130] EDB 358a3, 358b1; EDB 139a1, 148a1.
[131] EDB 293b1, 294b2.
[132] EDB 293b1.
[133] EDB 294b2.

Honeychurch in Black Torrington Hundred, *octo animalia* at Heanton in Merton Hundred and *octo* acres of meadow at Torrington.[134]

Other potentially significant variations in the Exon text concern the forms in which numbers are expressed. The fact that larger numbers sometimes appear in the form 'x + y' has already been alluded to above. There is also some variation in how areas of woodland and pasture are recorded, often in acres, comparatively rarely as a single measurement in leagues or furlongs and more frequently measurements of length and width. For the most part there is a correlation between the size of the area of woodland or pasture being recorded and the formula chosen to express it, with small areas more likely to be expressed in acres and larger ones in leagues, but this is not always the case.

For example, the entry for Bishop Osmund's manor at Seaborough (then in Somerset, now in Dorset), records pasture measuring half a league in length by half a furlong in width.[135] There were twelve furlongs in a Domesday league so mathematically this equates to six furlongs by half a furlong, three square furlongs, or 30 acres. Yet the very next entry records the area of woodland at Chilcompton as being 80 acres,[136] and it is possible to find areas of pasture as large as 200 acres elsewhere in Exon,[137] while other smaller areas are measured in leagues.[138] It seems that the compilers of the original hundred returns had no standardised system for recording the size of areas of land. Some of the discrepancies might indicate scribes copying the wording of

[134] EDB 292a3, 293b2, 293b1.
[135] EDB 154a2.
[136] EDB 154a3.
[137] For example, Bishop Giso's manor of Wiveliscombe, EDB 156b2.
[138] For example, EDB 288a2, 290a1. Both are equivalent to thirty acres of pasture.

records kept by manorial reeves and other seigneurial officials, which may have varied in their terminology from place to place, even within a single fief or estate.

A still more striking set of numerical irregularities in Exon Fiefs are those which concern numbers of sheep. For the most part these are rounded, often to the nearest fifty, sometimes to the nearest ten or twenty-five in the case of smaller numbers. This makes sense in light of the fact that numbers of sheep tended to be rather high relative to other kinds of livestock recorded.[139] These rounded figures seem to be intended only as a rough guide to the size of the flock on each manor. There are a substantial number of entries, however, which provide much more specific figures for the number of sheep on the estates in question, even where it runs into the hundreds.

Thus the entry dealing with Bishop Osbern's manor of Crediton (Devon) notes that the bishop had 388 sheep there, in contrast with the next two entries for Bishopsteignton and Dawlish, (Devon) which record 400 and 100 sheep respectively.[140] In total, out of the sixteen entries for Bishop Osbern's Devon holdings which mention sheep at all, ten offer a specific rather than a rounded figure (though, rather strikingly, none of Osbern's Cornish estates are so precise).[141] For Bishop Giso the figure is three entries out of nine,[142] for William de Moyon it is eleven out of forty-three,[143] and for Baldwin it is fifty-one out of

[139] See table of 'Livestock in 1086 by Domesday Counties' in H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 164.
[140] EDB 117a3, 117a4, 117b1.
[141] EDB 117a3, 118a1, 118a2, 118b1, 119a1, 119a3, 119b1, 119b2, 120a1, 120a2
[142] EDB 154a2, 156b3, 159a1.
[143] EDB 47b1, 48a2, 49b2, 356a5, 356b2, 357a2, 360a2, 360b4, 363b2, 363b3, 364a3.

135.[144] Table 7, below, provides a more detailed summary of the figures for these four tenants-in-chief:

Table 7: Numbers of sheep in Exon Fiefs

Tenant-in-chief		*Number of entries which mention sheep*	*Number of entries which give precise numbers of sheep*	*Numbers of entries which give rounded numbers of sheep*	*Percentage of entries with precise numbers of sheep*
Bishop Osbern	Devon	18	10	8	55.6%
	Total	28	10	18	35.7%
Bishop Giso		9	3	6	33.3%
Baldwin the Sheriff		135	51	84	37.7%
William de Moyon		43	11	32	25.6%

No individual scribe or group of scribes seems to be responsible for a particularly high number of entries containing precise numbers of sheep and neither do they disproportionately appear in any particular hundreds. Indeed I have been able to identify no geographical pattern at all in terms of where precise or rounded numbers are more likely to appear.

There is, however, variation between different tenants-in-chief, as can be seen in Table 7, and in some cases between demesne and subtenanted estates. Table 8 deals with the lands of Bishop Osbern and of Sheriff Baldwin in Devon and gives the number of entries with precise or rounded numbers of sheep for

[144] EDB 288a3, 288b2, 289a1, 292a3, 293a2, 294a3, 295a1, 295a3, 295a4, 296a1, 298b2, 299a1, 301a2, 301b1, 301b3, 302a1, 302a2, 304b1, 305a1, 305a2, 305b1, 305b2, 306a1, 306b3, 306b4, 307a3, 307b2, 307b4, 308a1, 309b2, 310a1, 310b2, 311b3, 312a3, 312a4, 313a3, 313b2, 314a1, 314b1, 314b3.

demesne and subinfeudated estates. It demonstrates that the entries for Bishop Osbern's estates are no more or less likely to record sheep precisely if the manor was held by a subtenant than if it was held in demesne. For Sheriff Baldwin, by contrast, a clear pattern emerges. All but one of Baldwin's demesne estates in Devon give rounded numbers of sheep, while those which were held by subtenants are split more evenly between precise and rounded numbers. Once again, it appears that the sheriff reported information about his demesne estates in a standardised form, while his subtenants interpreted their brief in a more varied way.

Table 8: Sheep on demesne and subinfeudated manors of Bishop Osbern and Sheriff Baldwin in Devon

Tenant-in-chief	*Total entries with sheep*	*Demesne, precise figure*	*Demesne, rounded figure*	*Subtenant, precise figure*	*Subtenant, rounded figure*
Bishop Osbern	18	8	6	2	2
		44.4%	33.3%	11.1%	11.1%
Sheriff Baldwin	133	1	15	49	68
		0.8%	11.3%	36.9%	51.1%

In some instances, the appearance of these more specific figures may be attributable to particularly conscientious tenants-in-chief or subtenants instructing their estate managers or shepherds to count the number of sheep precisely during the process of providing information to the Domesday survey. In other cases, however, it is probable that the information had already been written down for some manors in a separate format, independent of the

Domesday survey, and that the compilers of the hundred returns drew on this more specific information where it was already available or made do with rounded estimates when it was not. Moreover, it is striking how often the appearance of odd numbers of sheep in Exon seems to coincide with other oddities. For example, the entry for Myne already mentioned, where Scribe Beta deviated from his own standard practice and spelled the name Leuuin with a double **u,** also states that William de Moyon had 107 sheep there, one of only eleven entries for the sheriff to give a precise figure.[145]

Not all such variants necessarily point towards the influence of outside sources. It is perfectly possible that two different scribes could set to work copying from the same hundred returns and interpret them sufficiently differently as to produce significantly different results. Nevertheless, the presence in the text of so many orthographical and formulaic variants, however minor, demonstrates that a level of flexibility was available to the compilers of Exon Fiefs which exceeds what we would expect if the scribes were mechanically copying from entirely homogenous returns.

Wherever there are formulaic oddities in the text there is at least a possibility that at some earlier stage in the process the scribes had access to material which was not cast in a standardised form and which they had actively to manipulate in order to make it fit their brief. Where more than one kind of irregularity coincide in a single entry — as is the case with Beta's uncharacteristic spelling of 'Leuuin' and William de Moyon's 107 sheep — that possibility becomes a probability.

[145] EDB 360a2.

Frequency of scribal corrections

In addition to variations in hundredal order and textual peculiarities, another important manifestation of irregularity in the Exon manuscript is in the frequency of contemporary corrections to the text. I am defining a correction here as being any deliberate erasure, marginal addition, interlineation or other contemporary alteration, the purpose of which is clearly to amend or clarify an aspect of the text. By counting up the total number of scribal corrections in each fief, and dividing it by the number of pages that that fief occupies, it is possible to obtain an average number of corrections per page for each tenant-in-chief in Exon.[146]

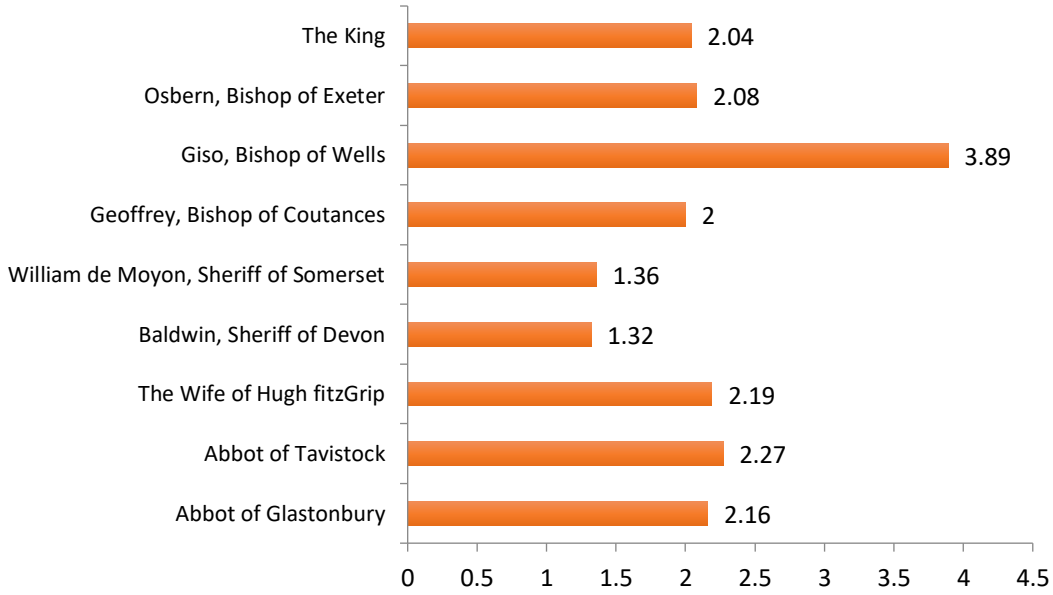
This method comes with certain caveats. The sample sizes vary a great deal, with the lands of the church of Exeter occupying seven folios,[147] while those of the Bishop of Coutances cover thirty-one.[148] Moreover, a wide spectrum of interventions, from the very large to the very small, have all been classed as single corrections. With these provisos in mind, however, the results of the comparison are illuminating. Table 9 below, and the accompanying bar chart, show the incidence of correction per page for nine different landholders: the king, two diocesan bishops, one bishop of a French diocese appearing in his capacity as a secular lord, two abbots, two sheriffs and the widow of another sheriff.

[146] In identifying corrections which are difficult to see in the digitised images of the manuscript, I have relied on Francisco Alvarez Lopez's codicological descriptions, <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 27.09.16).
[147] Exon, fols. 117r–120v, 199r–201r.
[148] Exon, fols. 121r–152r.

Table 9: Average number of corrections per page for sampled tenants-in-chief

Tenant in chief	*Land in county/ counties*	*Number of pages*	*Number of corrections*	*Average number of corrections per page*
The King	Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Cornwall	55	112	2.04
Osbern, Bishop of Exeter	Devon, Cornwall	13	27	2.08
Giso, Bishop of Wells	Somerset	9	35	3.89
Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances	Devon, Somerset	61	122	2.00
William de Moyon, Sheriff of Somerset	Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Somerset	25	34	1.36
Baldwin, Sheriff of Devon	Devon, Somerset	56	74	1.32
Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	Dorset	16	35	2.19
Abbot of Tavistock	Dorset, Devon, Cornwall	11	25	2.27
Abbot of Glastonbury	Devon	25	54	2.16

Figure 2: Chart of average corrections per page



The average number of corrections for most of these individuals stands at around two per page but there are three significant variations from the mean. The accounts of the two sheriffs' fiefs display a lower than average incidence of correction, at around 1.3 corrections per page, and Bishop Giso's lands have a much higher than average incidence, at 3.9 corrections per page.

More heavily corrected sections of text might indicate particularly close and careful supervision of the copying process for the entries in question or perhaps simply reflect multiple stages of compilation, with scribes sometimes struggling to manipulate the information contained in a variety of written exemplars into an acceptable format. These explanations are not necessarily incompatible. It is tempting to imagine Bishop Giso himself, or his representative, looking over the shoulder of Scribe Theta as he copied the entry for 'Aissa' (Ash Priors in Somerset), and insisting that he specify that Roger Arundel held the manor *iniuste*, which Giso had held on the day when King Edward was alive and dead.[149] It is equally possible, however, that the scribe had more than one record in front of him with information about Ash Priors, and that not all of them specified that it had been appropriated by Roger Arundel.

The suggestion that there may have been intervention here on behalf of Giso is strengthened by the fact that at end of the corresponding entry for Ash Prior's in Roger Arundel's own fief there is a significant addition written in the lower margin on four lines which are more closely spaced than the rest of the page.[150] This addition notes that the land had been held from Giso TRE and that

[149] EDB 160a3.
[150] EDB 443b3.

it could not be removed. Though it does not use the word *iniuste* to describe Roger's possession of the manor, it does emphasize the fact that Roger now holds from the King a manor which previously could not be separated from Giso's episcopal estate. This information is repeated in the *Terrae Occupatae* entry for Ash Priors.[151]

Giso was the beneficiary of a series of eight royal writs in Old English and one Latin diploma in the 1060s. These comprise six writs of Edward the Confessor,[152] two of Queen Edith,[153] one of King Harold,[154] and a writ and a diploma of William I.[155] A comparison of these royal charters with the Exon entries for the estates they concern is illuminating. The 1068 diploma of William I, for instance, restores thirty hides at Banwell, Somerset, to Giso after their unjust appropriation by Harold Godwinesson. Significantly, this diploma is one of only two instances in William's surviving *acta* where Harold is referred to as *rex*.[156] The Exon entry for Banwell, however, contains a superscript addition of the title *comes* next to Harold's name, in a darker ink than the rest of the entry.[157] Possibly the scribe is consciously trying to stress the subordinate status of the delegitimised former king. Certainly the darker ink suggests this was a slightly later and therefore deliberate addition.

We should not press the point too far, however, since Benoît-Michel Tock has identified the interlineation of surnames and titles as a characteristic

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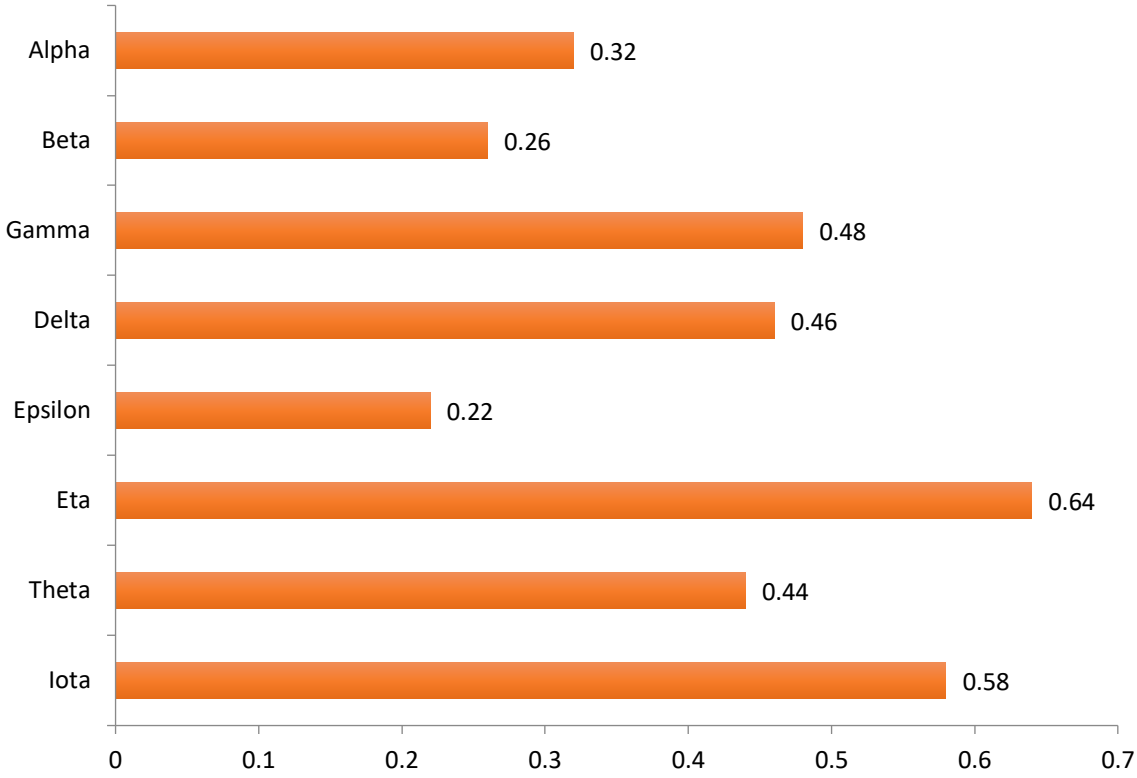
[151] EDB 520b3
[152] S 1111 – S 1116, *Anglo-Saxon Writs,* ed. F. E. Harmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), nos. 64–9.
[153] S 1240, Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 70; S 1241, Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 72.
[154] S 1163, Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 71.
[155] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 286–7.
[156] The other is a writ of 1066 × 1067 in favour of Regenbald. Bates, *Regesta*, no. 223.
[157] EDB 157a2.

feature of a small but not insignificant proportion of eleventh-century French charters.[158] Indeed, another interlined toponym even appears in the same Exon entry for Banwell with a reference to 'Serlo {de borci}'.[159] Nevertheless, even if there was no overtly political motivation for the addition of Harold's title and it was simply to clarify his identity, it still demonstrates that either the scribe himself or a supervisor thought it necessary to add that clarificatory information at a point after the main text had been copied, suggesting either that it was not in the scribe's main source, or that he accidentally omitted it in the first stage of copying.

Some Exon scribes were more accurate than others and the frequency with which different scribes habitually corrected themselves or were corrected by other scribes must be taken into account when considering the overall frequency of corrections within each fief. In order to try to assess how far variations in the accuracy of each scribe's work might have affected the average incidence of correction in different fiefs, I counted the number of corrections in a randomly selected sample of fifty full lines of text written by each of the eight most prolific Exon scribes: Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, Epsilon, Eta, Theta and Iota. These fifty line samples covered a variety of different kinds of fief: royal, episcopal, baronial, shrieval and monastic. The chart below shows the average number of corrections per line for the eight scribes surveyed.

[158] Tock, *Scribes, souscripteurs et témoins*, p. 96.
[159] In Frank Thorn's edition of the text, curly brackets are used to indicate interlineation.

Figure 3: Average number of corrections per line for each scribe



On the basis of this sample, Beta and Epsilon emerge as the most accurate scribes, with Eta and Iota as the least accurate, assessments with which Francisco Alvarez Lopez concurs in his descriptions of the individual Exon hands.[160] It makes sense, therefore, that thirteen out of the twenty-six scribal stints which comprise the account of Sheriff Baldwin's fief should be by Beta or Epsilon and that neither of the two most heavily self-correcting scribes, Eta and Iota, copied any entries for Baldwin at all.[161] Yet before we dismiss variations in the incidence of scribal correction in individual fiefs as being nothing more than

[160] See Francisco Alvarez Lopez, 'Hands: Beta, Epsilon, Eta, Iota', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/hands> (Accessed 27.09.16).
[161] For Baldwin's fief see Exon, fols. 288r–315v; for a visualisation of scribal stints see <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/lab/hands> (Accessed 27.09.16).

a coincidental reflection of which scribes happened to work on them, let us return to the work of the three scribes who copied Bishop Giso's fief.

Scribe Theta wrote the main portion of Giso's fief, from the beginning of line six on folio 157r, until the end of folio 160r, a total of 133 lines. Within this section there are ninety corrections.[162] That amounts to an average of 0.68 corrections per line for Theta's contribution to Bishop Giso's fief, as compared with an average of 0.44 corrections per line in the randomly chosen sample of the same scribe's work. The figures for Eta are less striking. He copied twenty-six lines, from the beginning of the fief on folio 156r to the end of line six on folio 156v. These twenty-six lines contain eighteen corrections, resulting in an average of 0.69 corrections per line; not very different from the 0.64 corrections per line in the random sample of Eta's work. The nineteen lines written by Scribe Alpha, however, from the end of line six on folio 156v to line five on folio 157r, contain twelve corrections, which is an average of 0.63 corrections per line, and much higher than the 0.32 corrections per line in the random sample.

Contributing to Bishop Giso's fief, therefore, two of these three scribes made significantly more mistakes than they were accustomed to elsewhere and the above-average incidence of correction in the account of Giso's holdings cannot, therefore, be disregarded as simply the work of ill-disciplined scribes. Rather, it seems likely that the source material that the scribes were copying from was significantly more varied or less standardised for Bishop Giso, than for other tenants-in-chief in the region.

[162] Francisco Alvarez Lopez, codicological descriptions for Exon. fols. 157r6–160r20. <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 27.09.16).

The sources of Exon Domesday

What, then, might the other written sources have been which this chapter has argued contributed to the compilation of the Exon text? It is difficult to say with any certainty, since the material is, by definition, lost, but two different types of document may be tentatively proposed. The first category is internal institutional memoranda. Comparable examples of this kind of document include a Latin note detailing the weekly farm of the monks of Westminster Abbey, dateable to the first decade of the twelfth century;[163] six short, early-eleventh-century, fragmentary Old English texts known as the Ely memoranda;[164] and perhaps most pertinently a group of Latin memoranda relating to the see of Dorchester-on-Thames, produced c.1070 and preserved on one of the end-leaves of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718.[165]

Given, therefore, that we have evidence of such documents being produced before and after the date of the compilation of Exon in Old English and in Latin and, in the case of the Dorchester memoranda, in a specifically episcopal context, it is not difficult to imagine that similar memoranda were being produced in the cathedral chapters and monastic houses of the late-eleventh-century South West. Such material, designed for transitory and pragmatic purposes, would have been inherently ephemeral and the failure of such documents to survive, *especially* if they were originally written in Old

[163] London, Westminster Abbey, WAM 5670.
[164] For a recent discussion of the content and significance of the Ely memoranda see Rory Naismith, 'The Ely Memoranda and the Economy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Fenland', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 45 (2016), 333–77.
[165] Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of c.1070'.

English rather than the Latin of the Westminster and Dorchester memoranda, ought not to surprise us. If documents of this kind did exist in the south-western dioceses at the time of the Domesday survey, it might help to explain some of the more unusual and specific inclusions in the Exon text of information not requested in the terms of reference: from more than usually precise numbers of sheep, to the appearance of salt-works, swineherds or wild mares.[166]

The other category of written material, which may have been used as a source by the Exon scribes is the eleventh-century charter corpus. Quite what proportion of the royal and private *acta* produced during the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror now survive is difficult to ascertain but it is safe to say that many more must have been lost than have been preserved.[167] We know that there are links between some of the manors recorded in Exon and charters which have survived. Banwell and Wedmore, for instance, were both the subject of royal writs in favour of Bishop Giso, which he may well have drafted himself.[168] Moreover, the structure of the bishop's endowment was set out in unusual detail in a Continental influenced *pancarte*, drawn up by Giso in Edward the Confessor's name, and dated 1065.[169] The connection between the Taunton chirograph and the Exon account of the customs of Taunton, identified by Stephen Baxter, has already been

[166] EDB 117a4, 119a2, 184a4; EDB 117a3, 117a4, 118a1; EDB 199a1, 157a2, 159b2.
[167] Charles Insley, 'Archives and lay documentary practice in the Anglo-Saxon world', *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Warren Brown, Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Adam Kosto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 336–65, pp. 341–3.
[168] Keynes, 'Giso', p. 231.
[169] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 232–4; *Anglo-Saxon Charters* XIII: *Charters of Bath and Wells*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007), no. 40.

summarised above.[170] Even where no explicit links are apparent between a specific charter and a particular entry, however, irregularities in the structure of an Exon entry or fief might hint at the existence of lost charters.

Moreover, this is precisely the period when we see the earliest surviving examples of charters recording the subinfeudation of manors by bishops and abbots to lay tenants. The document known as the Holme Lacy chirograph, in which Robert the Lotharingian, bishop of Hereford, granted land at Holme to Roger de Lacy, dates from 1085, and contains the provision that the bishop's men should still be allowed to collect timber from the wood at Holme and his pigs to forage there.[171] Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, had issued a similar grant of the life tenure of Tothill to William Baynard in 1083.[172] In this context it is striking that the manor of Slapton, whose peculiarities have already been noted, was granted out in 1086 by Bishop Osbern to his cousin, Sheriff Baldwin. Is it too far-fetched to imagine that an agreement between the two cousins, in the mould of the Holme Lacy chirograph, might once have existed for Slapton, and that it might have been consulted by the compilers of Exon or the hundredal returns they drew on?

The evidence is not conclusive but it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions about what some of the diplomatic variations in the text of Exon might mean, what kinds of source material they might indicate and, more speculatively, what they can tell us about the role of the bishops of the south-

[170] See above, pp. 153–4.
[171] V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085', *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), 353–72, pp. 371–2; see also T. S. Purser, 'The Origins of English Feudalism: An Episcopal Land Grant Revisited', *Historical Research*, 73 (2000), 80–93;
[172] George Garnett, *Conquered England Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 94.

western dioceses in the Domesday process. Exon Fiefs seems to have been compiled by a team of scribes working primarily from hundredally arranged source booklets. Much of the information contained in these booklets was probably collected under the auspices of the sheriffs, as the king's chief enforcers in the localities, using the shire court as a mechanism for hearing testimony and airing grievances.[173] In this context it makes sense that the shrieval holdings themselves should be among the most regular of all the Exon entries. As Chapter 2 demonstrated, however, bishops also continued to play a crucial role in the shire court in the post-Conquest period, and we should not assume that sheriffs were the only driving force behind the collection of information in public sessions during the early stages of the survey.

Out of this first stage of the survey emerged a set of hundredal returns which formed the main source of Exon Fiefs, but these, it has been argued here, probably drew on a variety of written material, perhaps including individual fief-holder returns, pre-existing memoranda, and charters. It is thus among the entries for institutions which already had a culture of record-keeping that we might expect to find the highest degree of variation in the text of Exon Fiefs and this expectation is borne out by subtle irregularities in the entries for the bishops of Exeter and Wells. Had more than two entries survived from Bishop Osmund of Salisbury's fief, similar idiosyncrasies might have been visible there too.

[173] Judith Green, *Forging the Kingdom: Power in English Society, 973–1189* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 63–64; on the shire court as a forum for disputes during the Domesday survey see Robin Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 28–31.

The curial and clerical bishops of the late eleventh century and their cathedral chapters were uniquely placed to act as locuses for the confluence of administrative activity on the ground and pre-existing documentary culture which constituted the Domesday process. Overall that process seems to have been a collaborative one in its implementation in the localities, with ample scope for a pro-active bishop such as Giso to involve himself. The relationship between bishops and sheriffs, at the level of circuit or shire, need not have been a combative one. Rather, we might potentially view their interactions as a mutually beneficial dialogue, resulting in a text which is a testament to the varied and not necessarily competing influences which produced it.

Chapter 4: Hierarchy and Headings in the Editing of Great Domesday Book

This chapter turns from the early and local stages of the Domesday survey to the later and more centralised part of the process, and considers what the rubrics in Exon and Great Domesday Book can tell us about the editorial choices which shaped the final record of the survey. By contrast with Exon Domesday, it has now been established that the bulk of Great Domesday Book was written by a single scribe, a man with a distinctive hand, who displayed remarkable skill as an editor as well as a copyist.[1] The same man also wrote the chapter lists and rubrics which divide up the text and make it navigable.[2]

The chapter lists appear at, or near, the beginning of each Great Domesday shire, usually immediately before or after the account of the borough/s. They are written in black ink, but numbered with red roman numerals, which correspond almost, though not exactly, with the numbered rubrics in the text that indicate the beginning of individual fiefs. The blank spaces which precede the chapter lists for, for example, Hampshire and Middlesex (where Winchester and London ought to have been entered), indicate that, in some cases at least, the lists were written up before the boroughs.[3] The compression of the lists for Berkshire, Dorset and Warwickshire, however, suggests that in these counties they were written after

[1] Michael Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', *Domesday Book: Studies*, ed. Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1987), 93–112, pp. 98–9.
[2] Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', p. 102.
[3] GDB, fols. 37v, 126v.

the main text, the scribe having miscalculated the amount of space he would require.[4] In addition to the chapter lists and headings at the start of every fief, Great Domesday also boasts running titles in red ink, giving the name of the shire.

It is now all but certain that the text of Exon fiefs was the direct source for the Great Domesday account of the south-western shires; but the main scribe, known to scholarship as Scribe A, compressed and rearranged the material contained in the booklets he worked from.[5] It may be inferred from the text of Great Domesday Book that Scribe A carried out the same radical editing process with the other five circuit returns, but not with the East Anglian return, which survives separately and not in his hand, as Little Domesday Book.[6]

Michael Gullick has recently discovered what he interprets to be evidence of an early temporary binding in the Exon manuscript and has suggested that it was bound before being presented to the king in August 1086.[7] He has also noted, however, that it may have been disbound before Scribe A began his work. In its current, partially-surviving, form Exon contains 531 leaves. If the other circuit returns were of a similar size and character then Scribe A must have been confronted with several thousand densely written

[4] J. C. Holt, '1086', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 41–64, pp. 50–1.
[5] See above, pp. 142–3; see also Frank and Caroline Thorn, 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book', *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 37–72, pp. 48, 58, 66–9.
[6] For the latest interpretation of the internal textual evidence for the writing of Great Domesday Book see Stephen Baxter, Julia Crick, Chris Lewis and Frank Thorn, *Making Domesday: The Conqueror's Survey in Context*, Studies in Exon Domesday II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), Chapter 10.
[7] The details of this discovery are to be included in a forthcoming report on the codicology of the Exon manuscript by Michael Gullick, to be kept in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral.

folios when he sat down to work in the summer of 1086, possibly in the form of loose booklets, and faced with the prospect of distilling the information contained therein into a single readily accessible volume.

In the context of such a formidable undertaking, the order and wording of chapter lists and rubrics in Great Domesday Book take on a special significance as indicators of Scribe A's editorial method and approach to his source material. Given their importance, it is perhaps surprising to find that these elements have been comparatively neglected in the historiography of Domesday. Individual headings have often been considered for how they relate to the content of the text they accompany. Julia Barrow, for example, observed that the episcopal estates in Herefordshire are recorded under the heading 'Lands of the Church of Hereford' (*Terra Ęcclesię de Hereford*), as opposed to being described as the lands of the bishop, while Sally Harvey noted a discrepancy between the name of royal chaplain Samson of Bayeux, as he appears in the chapter list for Staffordshire, and the corresponding heading in the text, which refers to the canons of Wolverhampton.[8] Discussion of the implications of the rubrics as a group, however, has been much scarcer.

Notable exceptions to this general observation are to be found in the work of V. H. Galbraith and J. C. Holt. In his own contribution to the volume of *Domesday Studies* which he edited, Holt praised the 'obvious' system for navigating the text of Great Domesday, where 'index lists, numbering, capitals and rubrications were all interlocked', and also noted that 'there need be no

[8] Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the church of Hereford, 1079–1095', *Medieval art, architecture and archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (1995), 29–49, p. 34; Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 131.

apology for recounting something so simple. These features have largely been forgotten amidst all the more sophisticated or esoteric explanations of the Book.'[9] He acknowledged the earlier observation, by Galbraith, of 'frequent discrepancies between the prefatory lists and the text to which they are meant to serve as a guide',[10] but nevertheless argued that, errors notwithstanding, the system of rubrication employed in the Great Domesday manuscript is still clearer and more intuitive to the modern reader than any of those found in printed editions of the text.[11]

Both Galbraith and Holt wrote about the Great Domesday rubrics in the context of their argument that the overall purpose of the survey was a feudal one and their refutation of J. H. Round's earlier hypothesis, which focused on the collection of geld.[12] Galbraith cited the discrepancies between the chapter lists and the text as evidence that the compiler of Great Domesday had copied the lists of landholders exactly in the order that they appeared in the circuit returns, before beginning his task of abbreviating the text, which sometimes upset the order.[13] Holt accepted Galbraith's argument on this point and also noted the fiscal elements of the text to which the reader's attention was *not* specifically drawn through rubrication; that is geld assessments, values, and changes thereto.[14]

[9] J. C. Holt, '1086', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 41–64, p. 51.
[10] Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, p. 190.
[11] Holt, '1086', p. 51.
[12] See Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, Chapter 2.
[13] Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, pp. 192–4.
[14] Holt, '1086', p. 52.

An assumption underpins this interpretation of the Great Domesday chapter lists and rubrics, however, which has subsequently been disproved. Galbraith believed, and Holt accepted, that each Domesday circuit return existed in the same form as Little Domesday, with a full list of tenants-in-chief at the start of every shire.[15] This model interposed an extra stage of writing between Exon Domesday and Great Domesday: a hypothetical fair copy, in the mould of Little Domesday.[16] We now know that no such fair copy existed for the south-western shires and, unlike Great and Little Domesday, Exon contains no lists of landholders, at least in its surviving form.[17] Moreover, it is far from certain that Scribe A received the manuscript in bound form with a fixed order of tenants-in-chief. Julia Crick has drawn attention to the long history of scribes copying texts from unbound exemplars in her discussion of the form and shape of the Exon manuscript in *Making Domesday*.[18] While it remains possible, therefore, that Scribe A copied the chapter lists at the beginning of each Great Domesday shire before he began the process of editing his source text, it is unlikely that he copied any of them directly from the circuit returns.

This reassessment of the stages of the Domesday process renders the reevaluation of the rubrics and chapter lists a worthwhile task. This is especially true for the South West, where, alone among Domesday circuits, we are able to compare the rubrics in Great Domesday Book with those in the direct source from which Scribe A worked. Such a comparison is further

[15] Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, pp. 1–11; Holt, '1086', p. 51.
[16] The case for fair copies was restated and expanded in Colin Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England: Studies of the Documentation Resulting from the Survey Conducted in 1086,* British Archaeological Reports, 405 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), Chapter 1.
[17] Thorn and Thorn, 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book', p. 48.
[18] Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 4.

facilitated by the digitisation of the Exon manuscript and new edition of the text which has been produced as part of the Exon Domesday Project.[19] It reveals that Scribe A did not always preserve the names of institutions or individuals in the forms in which they appeared in the circuit returns. Decisions about where to provide bynames, whether to use personal names or institutional titles, and whether and where to Latinise French or English personal names, may therefore provide further clues about the Domesday scribe's conception of his task.

This chapter considers the rubrics in Exon and Great Domesday Book, separately and in comparison with each other. It asks how consistent they are in terms of their wording and, in the case of Great Domesday, their order, and what factors might have motivated any inconsistencies. With regard to the Exon manuscript, in which multiple scribes contributed to the writing of the rubrics, it considers which scribes wrote which headings, and questions whether this allocation of labour was arbitrary, or indicative of an underlying rationale. Turning to Great Domesday Book, it examines the hierarchical nature of the chapter lists, and asks whether they conform to any consistent set of principles and how far the order varies between shires, circuits or dioceses. The order and wording of the headings for episcopal landholders and other ecclesiastics, is treated in particular detail. These provide an interesting test case for assessing the choices made by the scribes between personal names and institutional titles, and, in the case of bishops, for comparing the order of the Great

[19] The images can be viewed using the Text Viewer on the Exon Domesday Project website, <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view> (Accessed 14.11.17).

Domesday chapter lists with the canonical episcopal hierarchy, which had been refined and codified at the 1075 Council of London.[20]

First, however, a word on terminology. In its narrowest and most technical sense, the term 'rubrics' refers only to headings written in red ink.[21] In general parlance though, it encompasses headings in other colours, as well as the highlighting in red of specific words or phrases, regardless of whether or not they form part of a heading.[22] In discussing the Domesday rubrics, I use the term more narrowly in relation to Great Domesday Book, to refer to the red titles which mark the beginning of a new fief, along with their corresponding marginal roman numerals, which indicate the order of the fiefs. In Exon Domesday, however, where only black ink is used, I sometimes adopt a looser interpretation of the word, to refer to headings and sub-headings which indicate the beginning of a new fief or, within a fief, the transition to another shire. I do not include other scribal interventions, which fall outside the scope of the main text but do not establish the beginning of a new fief; for example, the phrase 'consummatum est', which appears on a number of otherwise blank leaves.[23]

As for the lists of landholders which appear at the beginning of each Great Domesday shire, these have been variously referred to in the historiography as 'prefatory lists',[24] 'lists of tenants-in-chief',[25] and, most

[20] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), no. 11.
[21] Kathryn M. Rudy, *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 3.
[22] Rudy, *Rubrics*, p. 13.
[23] Exon, fols. 155r, 209v, 370v, 387v, 449v, 451v, 467v, 474v, 494v.
[24] Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, p. 190.
[25] H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 291.

commonly, 'index lists' or 'indexes'.[26] To call these indexes, however, is to risk confusing them with the scholarly indexes, or alphabetical *tabulae*, which became popular in the later middle ages.[27] I therefore avoid the term index and refer instead to chapter lists or landholder lists. With these definitions established, let us turn first to the rubrics in the Exon Domesday manuscript.

Rubrics in Exon Domesday

For the most part, separate quires in the Exon manuscript are used to record the lands of individual tenants-in-chief, with the rubrics identifying the beginning of a new fief typically appearing at the beginning of a quire.[28] The current order of the quires, and consequently of the rubrics, is the result of the 1816 binding and edition.[29] Thus it tells us very little about the order of any earlier bindings and it is unlikely that the manuscript's compilers ever intended any fixed order. The wording of the rubrics still has the potential to reflect editorial decisions made at the time of compilation, however, as does the question of which of the manuscript's twenty-five scribes were responsible for writing which of the headings. The surviving text of Exon fiefs is punctuated by

[26] Holt, '1086', p. 51; Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, p. 125.
[27] M. B. Parkes, 'The Influence of Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 35–69, pp. 62–3.
[28] This pattern was observed in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, Vol. II: Abbotsford – Keele* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 800–7.
[29] *Libri Censualis, vocati Domesday Book, Additamenta ex Codic. Antiquiss. Exon Domesday; Inquisitio Eliensis; Liber Winton; Boldon Book*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: London Record Commission, 1816).

106 rubrics, with thirteen separate scribes contributing at least one.[30] Like the text itself, therefore, the writing of the rubrics was delegated to a number of scribes, and was not the work of a single supervisor. The table below shows the contributions of individual scribes to the rubrics for Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. It excludes Wiltshire, for which only one entry and one heading, written by Ksi, survive.[31] Where one scribe has corrected, or added to, a heading written by another I have attributed it to both scribes.[32] The four occasions on which this occurs take the total number of scribal contributions to the Exon rubrics to 109, while the omission of the single Wiltshire entry results in the total of 108, found in the table.

Table 10: Rubrics by scribe for each county

Scribe	*Dorset*	*Somerset*	*Devon*	*Cornwall*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Alpha	5	14	6	15	40	36.7%
Beta	4	12	17	1	34	31.1%
Eta	3	–	–	–	3	2.8%
Epsilon	–	–	4	–	4	3.7%
Iota	–	4	–	–	4	3.7%
Ksi	2	–	–	–	2	1.8%
Lambda	–	2	–	–	2	1.8%
Mu	1	1	3	1	6	5.5%
Omicron	2	–	1	–	3	2.8%
Theta	–	8	–	–	8	7.3%
Zeta	–	–	–	1	1	0.9%
DH1$	–	1	–	–	1	0.9%
Total	17	42	31	18	108	100%

[30] I am dependent for scribal identifications, on Francisco Alvarez Lopez's palaeographical and codicological description, <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view/codicology> (Accessed 12.06.17).
[31] Exon, fol. 47r.
[32] Exon, fols. 39r, 41r, 54r, 193v.

It is immediately evident that the two most prolific scribes across the text as a whole, Alpha and Beta, also wrote the highest number of rubrics: forty and thirty-four respectively. This amounts to just short of 37% of the total rubrics for Alpha and around 31% for Beta. The relational database on the Exon Domesday Project website allows us to compare these figures with the overall proportion of the Fiefs text written by these two scribes.[33] It reveals that, of a total of 2511 surviving Fiefs entries, Beta contributed to 777. This amounts to 30.9% of the total number and is thus exactly in line with the percentage of the rubrics for which he was responsible. Alpha, however, contributed to only 616 entries. He was thus responsible for 24.5%, or around a quarter, of the surviving fiefs entries, but more than a third of the rubrics.

There are caveats to this picture. It does not and cannot take into account how the lost portions of the text for Dorset and Wiltshire may have altered the proportions. Nor does it adjust for variations in the length of individual entries. Nevertheless, it does seem that Alpha wrote a disproportionately high number of rubrics, even when compared to his considerable contribution to the text overall. The prevalence of headings written by Alpha is in keeping with the notion, set out by Rex Welldon Finn in 1959, that the nature of the writing carried out by his 'Clerk G' suggested a superior position in the Exon scribal hierarchy, even though Beta (or 'Clerk A') actually wrote more of the text in total.[34]

[33] For the database use the 'Search: Entries' feature on the Exon Domesday Project website, <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/search/facets> (Accessed 10.08.17).
[34] R. W. Finn, 'The Exeter Domesday and its Construction', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41 (1959), 360–87, pp. 367–8.

An even starker disparity between the rubrics written by Alpha and Beta emerges when we consider for *which* fiefs they wrote the headings. The tables below separate rubrics dealing with ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief on the one hand and lay landholders on the other. We can see that Alpha was responsible for more than half of the total number of ecclesiastical headings. Even if we omit the ten Cornish churches which are clustered in a single scribal stint of seven folios, Alpha remains responsible for a further ten rubrics for bishops and churches, more than twice as many as any other scribe.[35]

When it comes to lay tenants-in-chief, the picture is reversed and the highest number of surviving rubrics were written by Beta with thirty of the seventy-two headings. The preponderance of ecclesiastical rubrics by Alpha and secular ones by Beta could simply be coincidental, but it might also reflect a broad division of labour in the Exon writing office, with Alpha taking the lead on extracting information about ecclesiastical landholders from a series of hundredally arranged returns, and Beta doing the same for laymen.[36]

[35] The Cornish churches are Exon, fols. 202r–208v.
[36] For hundredal returns see above, pp. 157–72.

Table 11: Rubrics for ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief in Exon Domesday

Scribe	*Bishops and cathedrals*	*Abbeys and other churches*	*Total per scribe*	*Percentage*
Alpha	3	17	20	54.1%
Beta	–	4	4	10.8%
Eta	–	1	1	2.7%
Epsilon	–	1	1	2.7%
Iota	–	1	1	2.7%
Ksi	–	1	1	2.7%
Mu	1	2	3	8.1%
Omicron	–	1	1	2.7%
Theta	2	1	3	8.1%
Zeta	–	1	1	2.7%
DH1$	1	–	1	2.7%
Total	7	30	37	100%

Table 12: Rubrics for lay tenants-in-chief in Exon Domesday

Scribe	*Number of rubrics*	*Percentage of total*
Alpha	20	27.8%
Beta	30	41.7%
Eta	2	2.8%
Epsilon	3	4.2%
Iota	3	4.2%
Ksi	1	1.4%
Lambda	2	2.8%
Omicron	2	2.8%
Mu	3	4.2%
Theta	5	6.9%
GDB Scribe	1	1.4%
Total	72	100%

Between them, Alpha and Theta were responsible for all of the rubrics dealing with the lands of the bishops of the south-western dioceses, that is Exeter, Wells and Salisbury, across all the surviving shires where they held land. Teresa Webber identified Theta as one of three, or possibly four, Exon scribes who also copied books for the cathedral library at Salisbury in the late eleventh century.[37] Webber described Theta's hand as 'a distinctive, highly expert, small "academic" hand which is characterized by a firm duct, the careful treatment of the tops of ascenders, and a contrast between thick and thin strokes.'[38] She also highlighted links between the canon–scribes at Salisbury during the episcopate of Bishop Osmund and the cathedral schools of northern France, especially Laon.[39] Alpha's hand, too, has a distinctly French appearance, characterised, according to Francisco Alvarez Lopez, by its somewhat pointed nature and long ascenders.[40] The rubrics for the south-western diocesan bishops thus appear to be the work of two scribes drawn from an episcopal and probably French milieu.

In addition to Alpha and Beta, the third 'main scribe' of the Exon manuscript was Mu. Although he wrote far less than his two colleagues, Mu contributed to the Fiefs text in Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, made

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[37] Teresa Webber, 'Salisbury and the Exon Domesday: Some Observations Concerning the Origins of Exeter Cathedral MS 3500', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700,* 1 (1989), 1–18, pp. 4, 12–13.

[38] Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[39] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 6, 30, 66.

[40] For a description of Alpha's hand, see Francisco Alvarez Lopez, 'Hands: Alpha', <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/hands/4/descriptions/>(Accessed 15.08.17). On the Frenchness of Alpha, and the other Exon scribes, see J. C. Crick and F. J. Alvarez Lopez, 'Decision-making and work flow in Exon Domesday', *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to ca. 1550): 20th colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine, Yale 6–8 September* 2017, ed. B. Shailor, C. Dutschke and R Clemens (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

additions to the second version of the Wiltshire geld accounts, and wrote the summary of the lands of Glastonbury abbey on folios 527v–528r.[41] Colin Flight's suggestion that Mu was 'the man in command' has been borne out by the work of the Exon Domesday Project team.[42] In light of his obvious importance, we might expect Mu to have contributed a disproportionately high number of rubrics but this expectation is only partly confirmed by the evidence. Mu wrote four of the manuscript's 106 landholder headings in their entirety, those for the bishop of Coutances, the count of Mortain and William de Falaise in Devon, and for the Cornish lands of Judhael of Totnes.[43] He also corrected a further two, adding a clarificatory 'in Dorseta' to the heading for the lands of Athelney Abbey written by Omicron, and 'in Somerseta' to those of Shaftesbury Abbey written by Alpha.[44] These six interventions amount to 5.5% of the total for all the Exon scribes; far less than Alpha and Beta, who between them were responsible for two-thirds of the surviving rubrics, and also less than Theta, whose eight rubrics amount to 7.3% of the total number.

Nevertheless, two salient points emerge from Mu's contribution to the rubrics, relatively limited though it was. First is the fact that the six rubrics for which he was wholly or partly responsible span four shires. The allocation of the rubrics thus reflects the distribution of scribal stints more generally in the main text of Exon fiefs, with Mu joining Alpha and Beta as the only scribes to work across the four counties for which significant portions of the text survive.

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[41] Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 50, n. 7.
[42] Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England*, p. 50; Baxter, Crick, Lewis and Thorn, *Making Domesday*, Chapter 4.
[43] Exon, fols. 121r, 210r, 334v, 366r.
[44] Exon, fol. 41r; Exon, fol. 193v.

Nor is Mu's apparent geographical interest confined to having written rubrics and entries in four shires. He seems to have made an active effort to make sure that entries were clearly separated by county. His two corrections to rubrics written by other scribes were both to clarify in which shire the respective tenant-in-chief held land. The heading for the lands of Judhael of Totnes in Cornwall, meanwhile, appears half way down a page, after a blank space following Judhael's Devon lands, perhaps suggesting that Mu planned and wrote the heading in advance to ensure that the Devon and Cornwall entries were not conflated.[45]

The second striking feature of Mu's interventions in the rubrics is that three out of the six seem to have occurred later than the initial copying of the text. Two of these are the additions of shire names, discussed above. The third begins the account of the fief of William de Falaise in Devon on folio 366r. Alvarez Lopez has identified this bifolium as a later addition to the quire, the original first leaf of which had been excised.[46] Mu wrote both the rubric and the rest of the text on folio 366. The other leaf of the inserted bifolium, folio 370, is blank but for one of nine examples of the phrase 'consummatum est' which appear throughout the manuscript, all of which Alvarez Lopez judges to be the work of Mu.[47] Mu's contribution to the Exon rubrics thus reveals an interest in enforcing geographical divisions within the text, and also seems partly to have happened at a relatively late stage in the process of compilation, perhaps as part

[45] Exon, fols. 41r, 193v, 334v.
[46] Francisco Alvarez Lopez, codicological description for Exon, fol. 366r. <https://exon-stg.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/1/texts/view/codicology> (Accessed 15. 08. 17).
[47] Alvarez Lopez, codicological descriptions for Exon, fols. 155r, 209v, 370v, 387v, 449v, 451v, 467v, 474v, 494v.

of a wider checking exercise, the stages of which he marked by the repeated use of the phrase 'consummatum est'.

The wording of the Exon rubrics is mostly very consistent. For laymen, the standard form is 'TERRA *x* IN *y*', where *x* is the genitive form of the individual name, with or without a byname, and *y* is the shire. Occasionally a layman's official title is used, instead of, or in addition to, his name. Baldwin, the sheriff of Devon, is 'Baldvinus vicecomes', for example, though William de Moyon is never referred to as sheriff of Somerset in the rubrics.[48] For laymen of comital rank Exon anticipates the practice observed in Great Domesday Book of giving the personal names of earls of English earldoms and the territorial titles of counts whose titular counties lay in Normandy. Thus Eustace III, not yet the count of Boulogne, and Earl Hugh are both given their names in the rubrics for their holdings in Somerset and Devon respectively, while the king's half-brother, Robert of Mortain, is consistently referred to as 'Comes de Moritonio'.[49]

There is more variation in the headings for the fiefs of bishops, abbots and churches than those of laymen and women. Sometimes bishops are given their names and in other instances their diocesan styles. Thus, while the Somerset fiefs of the bishops of Salisbury and Wells are headed respectively 'Terrę Osmundi episcopi in Svmmerseta'[50] and 'Terra Gisonis episcopi in Svmerseta',[51] those of the bishops of Winchester and Coutances are entitled

[48] Exon, fols. 47r, 288r, 356r.
[49] Exon, fols. 282r, 286r; Exon, fols. 210r, 224r, 265r.
[50] Exon, fol. 154r.
[51] Exon, fol. 156r.

'Terra Episcopi Wintonensis in Sumerseta'[52] and 'Terra episcopi Constantiensis in Svmmersetæsyra'.[53] I have been unable to identify any particular rationale underlying these distinctions. Abbots are not named personally, except in one instance where the words 'Gaufridi nomine' have been added after the heading for the abbot of Tavistock's Dorset fief by Scribe Ksi.[54] The series of Cornish churches whose lands were written up in a single long stint by Scribe Alpha are all identified by the saints to whom they are dedicated.[55] The holdings of some of the larger Benedictine houses appear under headings in the simple form 'Terra/Terrę abbatis *x*', where *x* is the place name. This is the case for the abbeys of Tavistock, Glastonbury, Horton and Buckfast.[56]

The pattern is very different, however, when it comes to the rubrics for houses with a dedication to St Peter. Here, the saint himself usually appears as the landholder, rather than the abbot. Thus we have rubrics such as 'Terra Sancti Petri Cerneliensis ęcclesię in Dorseta' for Cerne Abbey (written by Scribe Beta),[57] 'Terræ sancti Petri Abbodesberiensis Aeclesiae' for Abingdon (Eta),[58] 'Terra sancti Petri Mideltonensis ęcclesię in Dorseta' for Milton (Beta),[59] 'Terra sancti Petri de Bada in Svmerseta' for Bath (Alpha),[60] and 'Terrę sancti Petri Michilinensis ęcclęsię' for Muchelney (Alpha).[61] Even the Devon fief of the bishop of Exeter is recorded as 'Terrę sancti Petri Essecestrensis ęcclesie in

[52] Exon, fol. 173v.
[53] Exon, fol. 136v.
[54] Exon, fol. 42r.
[55] These are St Petroc, St Achebran, St Probus, St Carantoch, St Stephen, Launceston, St Piran, St Constantine, St Buryan, St Neot and St Michael: Exon, fols. 202r–208v.
[56] Exon, fols. 41r, 42r, 161r, 177r, 182r, 184r.
[57] Exon, fol. 36r.
[58] Exon, fol. 39r.
[59] Exon, fol. 43r.
[60] Exon, fol. 185r.
[61] Exon, fol. 188r.

Devenescira' (Alpha),[62] although his holdings in Cornwall appear under the heading 'Terra episcopi Exoniensis in Cornugallię' (Alpha).[63] The papal manor of Puriton in Somerset is described as being held by 'Romana ęcclesia beati Petri' but is not given its own separate heading and is instead found among other Somerset churches given to saints in alms.[64]

The distinction between the rubrics for churches dedicated to St Peter and those dedicated to other saints is not absolute. As noted above, the smaller collegiate churches in Cornwall are all recorded under the names of saints, and the lands of the abbess of Shaftesbury appear under the heading 'Terra Abbatissę sancti Edwardi in Somerseta'.[65] Moreover, the two rubrics for Athelney Abbey follow separate conventions, with the Dorset heading referring to the abbot — 'Terra abbatis Adiliniensis in Dorseta' — and the Somerset one to St Peter.[66] The Cornish examples can be explained by the fact that many places in Domesday Cornwall had names which were synonymous with the saints to whom their churches were dedicated.[67]

Shaftesbury meanwhile, had historical associations with both the Virgin Mary and the saintly King Edward the Martyr, but by the time of the Conquest the latter association had become the dominant one.[68] The emphasis on St

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[62] Exon, fol. 117r.
[63] Exon, fol. 199r
[64] Exon, fols. 196r, 197v.
[65] Exon, fol. 193v.
[66] Exon, fols. 41r, 191r.
[67] W. L. D. Ravenhill, 'Cornwall', *The Domesday Geography of South-West England*, ed. H. C. Darby and R. W. Finn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 296–347, p. 335; For the preponderance of local, informal saints' cults in Cornwall see Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications: With a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), pp. 13–5.
[68] *Anglo-Saxon Charters* V: *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1996), pp. xiv–xv.

Edward should perhaps be viewed in the context of Shaftesbury's status as the premier female house in the kingdom, as a deliberate parallel with the prestigious male houses of St Augustine's and St Alban's.[69] Shaftesbury was founded, according to Asser, by King Alfred, whose daughter Æthelgifu became the first abbess, and had a long association with the West Saxon royal line. Sarah Foot has argued that its prosperity was due in large part to its 'effective exploitation of that family's most prominent saint, Edward the Martyr'.[70] Donations to Shaftesbury continued to invoke the name of the saint, rather than the borough, into the thirteenth century.[71]

Nevertheless, the preponderance of St Peter rubrics in Exon does seem significant. William Levison wrote about the early popularity of St Peter dedications in England during the conversion period in his *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, arguing that it was attributable to Roman influence.[72] The idea was developed by Alison Binns, who viewed the proliferation of churches dedicated to the Apostle as evidence of a contemporary sense of devotion to and direct connection with Rome, the Anglo-Saxons having first been evangelised by St Augustine's Roman-sponsored mission.[73]

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[69] N. E. Stacy, ed., *Charters and Custumals of Shaftesbury Abbey, 1089–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), p. 18.
[70] Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women II: Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Bodmin: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 165–77, especially p. 177.
[71] Stacy, *Charters and Custumals of Shaftesbury Abbey,* 'Charters and Associated Documents', nos. 20–30.
[72] William Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), pp. 33–5, 259–65.
[73] Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1216*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), p. 20; on English veneration for the apostles, and the contrasting growth in the cults of local saints in the eighth century, see also Alan Thacker, 'In search of saints: the English church and the cult of Roman apostles and

The picture is complicated somewhat by the number of houses which had double or multiple dedications. It was common for the more substantial Anglo-Saxon minsters to have two churches, the larger one with an apostolic dedication and the smaller dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[74] Later the practice evolved, with double dedications increasingly commonly including a local saint enshrined within a church, alongside a universal one.[75] Tavistock, for example, was dedicated to St Mary and St Rumon, Shaftesbury to St Mary and St Edward the Martyr, and Athelney to Ss Peter, Paul and Æthelwine.[76] Exeter, meanwhile, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Peter in the tenth century, though the St Peter dedication came to predominate after its major church became a cathedral chapter in the mid-eleventh century.[77]

What is notable, therefore, is not that so many of the religious houses recorded in Exon had churches dedicated to St Peter, but that the Apostle is explicitly named in so many entries. Of the nine surviving rubrics for churches with St Peter dedications in Exon Fiefs, seven name the saint instead of, or in addition to, the location of the church.[78] Of these seven, three were written by Alpha, two by Beta, one by Eta and one by Iota. We cannot, therefore, attribute the decision to name the saint, rather than the place, to individual scribal

martyrs in the seventh and eighth centuries', *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 247–77, pp. 269–76.
[74] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 399.
[75] Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 54.
[76] David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1953), pp. 59, 77, 265; Orme, *English Church Dedications*, p. 20.
[77] Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 425; Orme, *English Church Dedications*, p. 159.
[78] See above, pp. 218–9.

preference. Rather, it seems to indicate a deliberate policy on the part of those who oversaw the manuscript's compilation.

One possible explanation might be found in Catherine Cubitt's observation that Peter was viewed by contemporaries as 'the archetype of priest and clerk, singled out in iconography by his wearing of a clerical tonsure'.[79] Cubitt also highlighted Peter's married status, arguing that 'by the late tenth and early eleventh century, his prominence as an emblem of adherence to papal practices had been eclipsed by his role as a standard bearer for the persecuted crowd of married clerks in England then under attack from the Benedictine Reformers whose chosen saint was Mary, symbol of virginity.'[80] If we view Peter as being symbolic of the clerical office, then it perhaps becomes easier to understand how he might have enjoyed particular favour from the clerks responsible for compiling Exon, who may have invoked his name more readily in the text of Exon Fiefs than that of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is notable in this context, too, that the rubrics for the three south-western abbeys which were dedicated exclusively or primarily to the Virgin — Tavistock, Buckfast and Glastonbury — all refer to the place name rather than the saint.[81]

For the most part, the references to saints, including St Peter, are removed from the chapter lists in Great Domesday Book. Thus the heading for the fief of the bishop of Exeter in Devon, 'Terrę sancti Petri Essecestrensis ęcclesie in Devenescira', becomes simply 'Episcopus de Execestre',[82] that for the

[79] Catherine Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 423–453, p. 447.
[80] Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints', p. 447.
[81] Exon, fols. 42r, 182r, 161r.
[82] GDB, fol. 100r.

abbot of Cerne in Dorset 'Abbatia de Cernel',[83] and for the abbots of Bath, Muchelney and Athelney in Somerset 'Ęcclesia de Bada', 'Ęcclesia Miceleniensis' and 'Ęcclesia Adelingiensis'.[84] On two occasions the chapter headings within the text of Great Domesday Book still retain references to saints which appear in Exon — 'Terra sancti Petri de Cernel'[85] for Cerne and 'Terra sancti Edwardi'[86] for Shaftesbury Abbey — but the landholder lists at the beginning of each of the south-western shires uniformly refer to churches' geographical locations rather than their saints.

Interestingly, the divide between saints' names and place names found in the respective Exon rubrics for the Somerset lands of Bath Abbey and Glastonbury Abbey is reversed in the chapter headings of Great Domesday Book. 'Terra sancti Petri de Bada' in Exon thus becomes 'Terra Ęcclesie de Bade' in Great Domesday Book,[87] while 'Terra abbatis Glastingheberiensis' in Exon is rendered 'Terra Sanctę Marię Glastingberiensis' in Great Domesday.[88] St Mary also appears in the headings for the Dorset and Wiltshire fiefs of Shaftesbury Abbey, the Exon text of which does not survive.[89] It is striking both that the St Peter references in the Exon rubrics are almost entirely absent from the chapter lists of Great Domesday Book, and also that St Mary is twice invoked by Scribe A to refer to Shaftesbury Abbey, which was more usually known as the abbey of St Edward in this period.[90]

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[83] GDB, fol. 75r
[84] GDB, fol. 86r
[85] GDB, fol. 77v.
[86] GDB, fol. 91r.
[87] Exon, fol. 185r; GDB, fol, 89v.
[88] Exon, fol. 161r; GDB, fol. 90r.
[89] GDB, fol. 67v, 78v.
[90] See above, pp. 219–20.

These observations cannot be made to bear too much weight but it seems possible that the scribes who wrote the rubrics for Exon and Great Domesday Book revealed something of their own spiritual backgrounds or preferences in their choices about which saints to name, especially in situations where a double dedication meant that multiple options were available to them. Michael Gullick has posited that the hand of Exchequer Domesday's Scribe A suggests he was trained in a monastic environment.[91] If this was the case, it might help to explain his apparent inclination to name the Virgin Mary, the powerful symbolism of whom for reformed Benedictine houses was highlighted by Cubitt.[92]

Likewise the frequent appearance of St Peter in the Exon rubrics seems to have been the decision of whoever oversaw the process of compiling the manuscript (perhaps Scribe Mu himself). Those Exon scribes whose hands were identified by Teresa Webber at Salisbury were undoubtedly secular canons rather than monks.[93] It seems likely that their colleagues were clerks too. If so, it is possible that the tendency of the Exon scribes to name the saint rather than the place in the headings for churches dedicated to St Peter might have been influenced by the Apostle's position as the 'archetype of priest and clerk' and a widely recognised patron of secular clergy.[94] At any rate, future research into the identity of Mu ought perhaps to consider an affiliation to a church with a St Peter dedication as a point in favour of any potential candidates.

[91] Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', p. 105.
[92] Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints', p. 447.
[93] Webber, 'Salisbury and the Exon Domesday', pp. 4, 12–13.
[94] Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints', p. 447.

Rubrics in Great Domesday Book

Turning from Exon to Great Domesday Book, the differences in layout between the two volumes are immediately striking. The two-column format of Great Domesday was rare in books produced in England before 1066, but became more common among manuscripts commissioned by Norman abbots and priors after the Conquest.[95] Running titles, meanwhile, were extremely rare in eleventh-century books, although surviving examples do exist.[96] Their use had been an ancient practice but they were rendered redundant in books designed for monastic *lectio* and had thus fallen out of use. They began to reappear in quantity in twelfth-century scholastic volumes, where they were designed to aid navigation and study of the text.[97] Great Domesday Book, therefore, constitutes an early example of the reappearance of running titles designed to help the reader find their way around the text and their inclusion suggests that Scribe A was somewhat ahead of mainstream trends in terms of his approach to the *ordinatio* of the text.

Unlike in Exon Fiefs, the order of the chapters in Great Domesday Book is also significant, since the manuscript was designed to have a fixed order, rather than exist as a collection of loose booklets, able to be rearranged at will. The general pattern of the chapter lists was summarised neatly by J. Munby in a

[95] Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', p. 97.
[96] Late-eleventh-century running titles were identified by N. R. Ker in, for example, two Worcester manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton MSS 113, 114, a two-volume collection of homilies, and Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 3. 18, a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo–Saxon,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, reprinted with supplement 1990), nos. 23, 331, pp. 36–7, 391–9.
[97] Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', pp. 52–3.

2011 article on the Domesday boroughs as 'a hierarchical or alliterative sequence: churches before laymen, earls and counts before the untitled, Roberts paired with Rogers, Williams with Walters, and so on'.[98] We may add to this that, among the churches, bishops come before abbots, who in turn come before royal chaplains and other clerics; and that women, even those of comital rank, tend to be relegated to the end of the chapter lists.[99]

Within this broad framework, however, there are variations across shires. In some instances, these tell us something about the way that Scribe A approached the circuit returns from which he worked. Rex Welldon Finn identified that the account of the royal demesne in the south-western shires in Exchequer Domesday was unusual in containing subheadings, which mirrored the division of the *terra regis* in Exon into lands inherited from different antecessors.[100] This demonstrates that Scribe A was influenced to some extent by the format of the circuit returns when writing the rubrics for Great Domesday Book, since he retained the divisions within the *terra regis* in the south-western shires but did not insert similar divisions or systematically group royal estates by TRE holder elsewhere.

Other variations, however, may serve to reveal more of the deliberate choices made by Scribe A about groupings and hierarchies of tenants-in-chief in each shire. The order of the bishops serves as a particularly useful case study for assessing how far Scribe A followed a consistent set of rules in determining

[98] J. Munby, 'The Domesday Boroughs Revisited', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33 (2011), 127–49, p. 133.
[99] See, for example, the position of the wife of Hugh fitzGrip and the Countess of Boulogne in Dorset: GDB, fol. 75r.
[100] R. W. Finn, *Domesday studies: the Liber Exoniensis* (London: Longman, 1964), pp. 138–9.

the shape of the chapter list for each shire. A norm having been established, deviations from it can also be assessed to see whether they were motivated by specific editorial principles or exceptional circumstances on the ground. Factors considered below for whether they affected the episcopal order of precedence in Great Domesday Book include a bishop's seniority according to canon law, whether he ruled over a French or an English diocese, in whose diocese the shire in question lay, and who held the most land in that shire. Some of these factors will emerge as having been more pertinent than others.

The first canon of the 1075 Council of London codified an order of precedence in the seating arrangements for bishops at ecclesiastical councils. It decreed that the archbishop of York should sit to the right of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London to his left, and Winchester to the right of York. After that the remaining bishops should be seated in the order in which they had been appointed.[101] In actuality this sequence was not new in 1075. Aspects of it far pre-dated the Norman Conquest. The notion that bishops should sit in order of their consecration, for example, was written down as early as the Council of Hertford in 673, and may even have been established before that date. The eighth canon of the council stipulated 'that none of the bishops should set himself above the others through ambition, but all should acknowledge the time and order of their consecration' (*Ut nullus Episcoporum se praeferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus, et ordinem*

[101] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 11. Abbots are also known to have attended the council and twenty-one of them subscribed the canons but their order of precedence is not specified. For abbatial subscriptions see *Letters of Lanfranc*, p. 79, n. 16.

consecrationis suae).[102] The special status of the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York also dated from the conversion period but that of the bishoprics of London and Winchester was more ambiguous.[103] In his commentary on the canons of the 1075 Council of London, Martin Brett described how:

> The matter of precedence had clearly already been thought over at the council of 1072, for the signatories to the longer version of the judgement there follow the same order as those of 1075 except for Walkelin of Winchester, who attests 1072 in order of consecration but here follows the bishop of London (who already took precedence over Herman of Sherborne in 1072, though consecrated six years later.) Correspondingly in this matter the precedence of Winchester may be the only wholly new provision of 1075.[104]

The *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury also contains an account of how the episcopal order of precedence was written into canon law in the 1070s, although Malmesbury seems to have confused the Council of Winchester in 1072 with that of London three years later, so it is not entirely clear to which council he was referring. In a passage preceding a copy of the 1075 canons, Malmesbury records how:

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[102] A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 118–22.
[103] D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* vol. 1, part 2*: 1066–1204* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 608.
[104] Brett, *Councils and Synods,* vol. 1, part 2, pp. 608–9.

> In this assembly Lanfranc, who was still unfamiliar with England, asked the senior bishops what order of sitting in council was established by ancient custom, and they, giving the difficulty of the question as an excuse, put it off till next day. After very carefully recalling the tradition, they declared that the usage they had witnessed was as follows.[105]

After 1075, the next reforming council in England for which a full set of canons survives was the 1102 Council of Westminster, presided over by Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury.[106] The most complete text of the canons of this council comes from Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*. In Eadmer's account the canons themselves do not refer to an episcopal order of precedence, but the preamble describing which bishops attended the council begins with Archbishop Anselm, followed by Archbishop Gerard of York, Bishop Maurice of London, and William (Giffard), bishop-elect of Winchester.[107] Thereafter, however, the other bishops are listed in an order which does not correspond with their appointments. Thus it seems that the canonical seating arrangements for the four most senior English bishops endured into the twelfth century, but the older provision that bishops should sit in order of their consecration was adhered to less closely in the written record of subsequent councils.

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[105] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, Volume I: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) pp. 536–7.
[106] *Councils and Synods,* vol. 1, part 2, no. 113, pp. 668–88.
[107] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia: et opuscula duo de vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884), p. 141.

Moreover, even with an attempt having been made to write down the established order of bishops with ecclesiastical authority, it does not follow that the same order was necessarily observed in secular gatherings. Indeed we have evidence of discrepancies in Anglo-Saxon charters issued throughout the pre-Conquest period. The canons of the 680 Council of Hatfield, for example, repeat the prescription of Hertford regarding episcopal precedence, but in a royal diploma issued at the same assembly the bishops attest in an entirely separate order.[108] Much later, in Edward the Confessor's 1050 diploma licensing the unification of the sees of Devon and Cornwall, Bishop Hermann of Ramsbury (1045–1078) attests before Robert of Jumièges, the bishop of London (1044–1051), despite having been consecrated a year later, and Duduc of Wells (1033–1060) is the last bishop to attest, even though he had been in office since the time of King Cnut.[109] These examples serve to demonstrate that the canonical order of precedence among bishops was sometimes overturned in Anglo-Saxon England in favour of a more politically motivated episcopal hierarchy. The Great Domesday chapter lists allow us to test how far the newly reinforced canonical order was observed in a secular context in the years after the 1075 Council of London.

[108] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 145–51, 153–60.
[109] *Councils and Synods,* vol. 1, part 1, pp. 528-33.

Table 13: Order of episcopal chapters in Great Domesday Book

County	Circuit	Diocese/s	Archbishop of Cantebury	Archbishop of York	Bishop of London	Bishop of Winchester	Bishop of Wells	Bishop of Worcester	Bishop of Lincoln	Bishop of Chichester	Bishop of Exeter	Bishop of Rochester	Bishop of Salisbury	Bishop of Hereford	Bishop of Durham	Bishop of Chester	Bishop of Bayeux	Bishop of Coutances	Bishop of Lisieux
Kent	I	Canterbury/ Rochester	2 (+3)									4					5		
Sussex	I	Chichester	2							3	6								
Surrey	I	Winchester	2			3					4						5		
Hampshire	I	Winchester		4		2 (+3)					5								
Berkshire	I	Salisbury				2					5		3		4			6	
Wiltshire	II	Salisbury				2							3				4	5	6
Dorset	II	Salisbury			7								2 (+3)				4	5	6
Somerset	II	Wells			15	2	6						3				4	5	
Devon	II	Exeter									2							3	
Cornwall	II	Exeter									2								
Middlesex	III	London	2		3														
Hertfordshire	III	London	2		4	3										7	5		6
Buckinghamshire	III	Lincoln	2			3			4								5	6	7
Oxfordshire	IV	Lincoln	2			3			6		5		4				7		8
Gloucestershire	V	Worcester/ Hereford		2				3			5			4				6	30
Worcestershire	V	Worcester						2						3			11		
Herefordshire	V	Hereford												2					
Cambridgeshire	III	Lincoln				2			3			4							
Huntingdonshire	VI	Lincoln							2									3	
Bedfordshire	III	Lincoln							4						5		2	3	
Northamptonshire	IV	Lincoln							5						3		2	4	
Leicestershire	IV	Lincoln		2					3									4	
Warwickshire	IV	Chester/ Worcester						3								2	4	5	
Staffordshire	IV	Chester														2			
Shropshire	V	Chester/ Hereford												2		1			
Cheshire	V	Chester																	
Derbyshire	VI	Chester												2					
Nottinghamshire	VI	York		5					6								7		
Rutland	VI	York																	
Yorkshire	VI	York		2											3				
Lincolnshire	VI	Lincoln		2					7				5		3		4	6	

Table 13, above, is modelled on the tables in Simon Keynes' *Atlas of Attestations*.[110] It arranges all the bishops of English dioceses horizontally according to their position within the hierarchy established by the Council of London, with the bishops of French dioceses at the end. William de Beaufeu, the bishop of Thetford, is not included because he held lands only in East Anglia and therefore did not feature in the Great Domesday chapter lists.[111] The numbers indicate the position of each bishop in the chapter list of each shire. Where an extra, consecutive number is added in brackets within a single cell, it indicates that the cathedral community, or the bishop's knights or monks, appear under a separate rubric.[112] Cells shaded in yellow are for headings which employ the bishop's name rather than, or in addition to, his diocesan style. The single green cell reflects the heading for Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances' lands in Gloucestershire, where Geoffrey appears as the bishop of Saint-Lo, the dedication of his cathedral church at Coutances.[113]

Had Scribe A been specifically following the provisions of the Council of London when he wrote the chapter lists, we would expect to see the numbers counting upwards along each horizontal row. In some counties this does occur: these are Surrey, Wiltshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire and Yorkshire. Moreover, one constant which does fit with ecclesiastical law is that, in shires where the archbishop of Canterbury held land, he always appears

[110] Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, C.670–1066* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 1995).
[111] Stephen Baxter, 'William 41, bishop of Thetford, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 14.11.17).
[112] For example, the land of the archbishop of Canterbury's monks in Kent: GDB, fol. 4v.
[113] GDB, fol. 162v.

in second place in the chapter list, immediately after the king.[114] In other shires, however, the canonical order is disrupted. Some variations from the pattern are rather minor. In Hertfordshire, for example, Bishop Walkelin of Winchester appears ahead of the newly appointed Bishop Maurice of London,[115] while in Gloucestershire the local bishop of Hereford comes before the more distant bishop of Exeter.[116] In other shires, however, especially those known to have been completed early in the process of writing Great Domesday Book, the deviations are more significant. Thus in Lincolnshire the archbishop of York is followed by the bishops of Durham, Bayeux, Salisbury, Coutances and Lincoln,[117] while in Nottinghamshire the bishops do not appear first at all, but are relegated to a position behind Count Alan, Earl Hugh and the Count of Mortain.[118] Overall, it seems that Scribe A had some sense of what the generally accepted episcopal hierarchy was at the time of writing, and tended to stay fairly close to it, but he did not explicitly follow the order established in 1075.

What other considerations might have motivated deviations from this order? It is difficult to ascertain for certain, since every example to support a particular rationale prompts a counter-example. We might suggest, for instance, that the national significance of the king's (disgraced) half-brother Odo of Bayeux and his trusted minister Geoffrey of Coutances help to explain why they appear ahead of the English diocesan bishops in the landholder list for Bedfordshire;[119] but why, then, do they come after Lanfranc, Walkelin and

[114] GDB, fols. 2r, 16r, 30r, 126v, 132r, 143r, 154r.
[115] GDB, fol. 179r.
[116] GDB, fol. 162v.
[117] GDB, fol. 337r.
[118] GDB, fol. 280v.
[119] GDB, fol. 209r.

Remigius in neighbouring Buckinghamshire, even though both counties belonged to the same Domesday circuit?[120] That the local diocesan bishop was not always accorded preeminence is demonstrated by the relegation of Remigius to seventh place in the list for Lincolnshire, sixth place in Oxfordshire, and fifth place in Northamptonshire, despite all three counties belonging to the huge diocese of Lincoln, and the appearance of Giso of Wells in sixth place in Somerset.[121] The account of Oxfordshire also negates another possible organising principle, that the order of the chapters might reflect the amount of land that a tenant-in-chief held in a given shire, since Lanfranc, Osmund and Osbern, with one Oxfordshire manor apiece, and Walkelin, with two, all appear before Remigius and Odo, each of whom held large amounts of property in the county.[122]

No one explanation accounts for the order of every landholder list. Scribe A seems not to have followed a single set of conventions. The result is that a rough hierarchy emerges, some aspects of it more clearly than others, but that it is neither firmly fixed, nor entirely consistent with the order of precedence established in canon law, and reflected in the witness lists of certain royal *acta*, such as a 1081 Bury St Edmunds diploma, which is attested by thirteen bishops in order of their appointment.[123] It is also of note that, while some bishops, especially Remigius, repeatedly appear below the position where we might expect to find them in the hierarchy of the chapter lists, none is consistently raised up. In terms of the longstanding search for the 'man behind

[120] GDB, fol. 143r.
[121] GDB, fol. 154r, 219r, 337r; GDB, fol. 86r.
[122] GDB, fols. 155r–156v.
[123] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 39.

the survey',[124] therefore, the Great Domesday chapter lists do not, in and of themselves, serve to illuminate any particularly likely candidates.

The wording of the landholder lists and chapter headings in Great Domesday is mostly fairly consistent. For laymen, the scribe tends to record simply the name, with or without a byname, and with an official title such as *comes* or *vicecomes* where relevant. The corresponding chapter headings in the text then take the form 'Terra *x*', where *x* is the genitive form of the same name. In some shires monastic lands are recorded as lands of the abbey (*abbatia*), in others as lands of the church (*ecclesia*), and in others still as lands of the abbot (*abbas*). [125] Female houses are sometimes lands of the *ecclesia*, usually of the *abbatissa*,[126] and never of the *abbatia*.

For the most part, the episcopal headings are formulaic, proving more consistent in their wording than in their order. There are, however, a small number of anomalies. First there are three examples of bishops whose knights, monks, or canons are also mentioned in the rubrics. In the case of the archbishop of Canterbury in Kent and the bishop of Winchester in Hampshire separate numbered entries are included in the landholder list, while the *canonici* of the bishop of London share an entry with him in the list for

[124] See Pierre Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 65–78; V. H. Galbraith, 'Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 86–101; Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), Chapter 5.
[125] For *abbatia* see, for example, the chapter list for Dorset: GDB, fol. 75r. For *ecclesia* see Somerset: GDB, fol. 86r. For *abbas* see Cambridgeshire: GDB, fol. 189r.
[126] For *ecclesia* see Shaftesbury Abbey in Somerset: GDB, fol. 86r. For *abbatissa*, the abbesses of Winchester, Romsey and Wherwell in Hampshire: GDB, fol. 37v.

Middlesex.[127] The monks of Sherborne also appear in a supplementary heading in the chapter list for Dorset, as the subtenants of the bishop of Salisbury, rather than among the other abbeys.[128] In the text itself, there is no separate heading for Sherborne; merely a rubricated numeral 'iii' in the left-hand margin of folio 76v.

In some cases bishops are given their names rather than, or in addition to, their diocesan styles. There are seven examples of this in the chapter lists. In Gloucestershire Scribe A seems initially to have referred to Gilbert Maminot (*Giselbertus Maminoth*) as he would a lay magnate. He appears in thirtieth place in the chapter list under his name and byname, with the superscript addition of the words 'episcopus Lisiacensis' — presumably a later addition — bringing the scribe's treatment of his name closer into line with those of the bishops of Coutances and Bayeux.[129] As well as serving as bishop of Lisieux from 1077, Gilbert was also a royal chaplain and physician, who was present at the Conqueror's deathbed in 1087.[130] His three Gloucestershire manors were held from him by Hugh Maminot, whom Katharine Keats-Rohan believed to be the bishop's son, and who, unusually among Great Domesday subtenants, is given his byname by Scribe A.[131] Hugh Maminot also appears in the Dorset geld

[127] GDB, fols. 2r, 37v; GDB, fol. 126v.
[128] GDB, fol. 75r.
[129] GDB, fol. 162v.
[130] See below, pp. 261, 265; Richard Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, October 2009), pp. 276–7.
[131] GDB, fol. 166v; Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166, Volume I: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 271.

accounts in Exon, holding four hides and one virgate in Badbury hundred from Bishop Gilbert.[132]

Elsewhere, Osbern of Exeter is named three times in the lists for Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, Thomas of York once in Hampshire, Maurice of London in Somerset, and Osmund of Salisbury in Lincolnshire.[133] Like Gilbert Maminot, all four of these men had served the king as royal chaplains before being promoted to their bishoprics. This, of course, was not an unusual career path for Anglo-Norman bishops, but the estates that these named bishops held in these particular shires have something in common too. With the exception of East Horsley, in Woking Hundred in Surrey (a manor that Osbern had already held in the time of King Edward),[134] all of them are minster churches or lands pertaining thereto. There is Osbern's hugely lucrative church of Bosham in Sussex, with its 112 hides, and the land at Farringdon in Hampshire which belonged to it.[135] Also in Hampshire, Thomas of York held the church of Mottisfont, with six chapels and all customary dues.[136] Thomas is also referred to by name in the heading for his fief in Gloucestershire, though not in the chapter list for that shire.[137] In Lincolnshire, Osmund of Salisbury had the church of Grantham with three carucates and three bovates of land attached to

[132] EDB 18a3.
[133] GDB, fols. 16r, 30r, 37v; GDB, fol. 37v; GDB, fol. 86r; GDB, fol. 337r.
[134] GDB, fol. 71r; for Osbern's acquisition of East Horsley see Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, 'Comment identifier les propriétaires fonciers du Domesday Book en Angleterre et en Normandie? Le cas d'Osbern fitzOsbern', *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. David Bates and Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2016), 207–43, p. 234.
[135] GDB, fols. 17r–v, 43r.
[136] GDB, fol. 42r.
[137] GDB, fols. 162v, 164v; also note that the lands of St Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, are conflated with those of the nearby abbey of St Peter on GDB, fol. 165v.

it.[138] Finally, Maurice of London held the church of St Andrew at Ilchester in Somerset, with three hides.[139]

It is evident that these were all ministerial holdings, granted by King William (or in the case of some of Osbern's estates by King Edward) to his chaplains in exchange for their service. Grants of royal minsters to court clergy were understood to be for the lifetime of the incumbent only. Chaplains were allowed to retain their churches when they were promoted to the episcopate but steps were taken to ensure that such ministerial properties reverted to the king upon the death of the bishop, rather than being appropriated by the cathedral community.[140] The decision by Scribe A to give these bishops their personal names in relation to the official estates they had acquired as royal chaplains thus emerges as an apparently deliberate strategy to demarcate these lands in Great Domesday Book, stressing that they were held in a personal capacity only, and lessening the risk of them being absorbed into the incumbent's bishopric after his death. It also suggests that Scribe A was personally familiar with the workings of the royal chapel, and the process by which clerical estates were granted and recovered by the king, even if, as Michael Gullick has suggested, he was trained at a monastic centre.[141]

As highlighted in Chapter 1, however, kings were not always consistent in their efforts to recover ministerial holdings after the death of the incumbent.[142] The bishops of Exeter retained *de facto* control of the collegiate

[138] GDB, fol. 343v.
[139] GDB, fol. 91r.
[140] See Chapter 1, above, pp. 85–6.
[141] Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', p. 105.
[142] See above, pp. 87–8.

foundation at Bosham throughout the Middle Ages, though 'strictly speaking, each prelate exercised rights at Bosham as a royal chaplain, not as bishop of Exeter'.[143] Beneath the Great Domesday entry for Bishop Osbern's manor of Farringdon in Hampshire — compressed into the space before the rubric for the lands of St Peter of Winchester — is an entry which demonstrates how the king might sometimes make sure to recover estates and at other times allow them to be alienated.[144] This entry records that the church of Mont-Saint-Michel held a church and the tithe of Basingstoke from the king in 1086. This church had been held by Bishop Walter of Hereford, a former royal chaplain, from King Edward but the entry specifies that it did not belong to his bishopric. We can see, therefore, that King William had recovered this ministerial church after the death of Bishop Walter in 1079 but had subsequently granted it to a Norman abbey in perpetuity.

Bishops Osbern, Osmund and Thomas all appear in the usual part of the chapter list, among the ranks of the episcopate, even in cases where they are given their personal names, rather than institutional titles. Maurice, on the other hand, appears fifteenth in the list for Somerset, after the fiefs of the monasteries and before the other 'clerks holding from the king' (*clerici tenentes de rege*).[145] This position, after the abbeys but before the lay magnates, is where we find several other named royal priests in Great Domesday Book, such as

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[143] J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 44–5; 'Bosham', *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester*, ed. L. F. Salzman (London: Victoria County History, 1953), 182–8; c.f. Bishop Leofric of Exeter's gift of Bampton to the cathedral chapter, 'Bampton and Weald: Manors and castle', *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 13, Bampton Hundred* (London, Victoria County History, 1996), pp. 25–6.
[144] GDB, fol. 43r.
[145] GDB, fol. 86.

Regenbald in Dorset, Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire, Nigel the physician in Herefordshire, and Earnwine in Bedfordshire.[146]

Maurice had served as chancellor, as well as a royal chaplain, until his appointment as bishop of London at Christmas 1085. Sally Harvey has even noted that the date of his successor Gerard's arrival in England is uncertain, and has speculated that Maurice may have continued to function as *de facto* chancellor throughout much of 1086, aided by his deputy and chaplain, Ranulph Flambard.[147] Maurice's position in the landholder list for Somerset may have been a simple oversight on the part of Scribe A, who forgot to include him among the other bishops; but if so, it would seem to be the oversight of someone who knew and continued to consider Maurice in his former capacity as royal chancellor.

What conclusions, then, can be drawn from the Exon and Great Domesday rubrics? First, there is the fact that Scribe Mu did not write a disproportionately high number of the rubrics in Exon, despite his probable supervisory role in the process of its compilation. Those interventions he did make seem, however, to demonstrate a particular concern with separating holdings clearly by shire, perhaps indicating that Mu was aware that such a separation would be required at the next stage of the Domesday process. Nevertheless, it was Alpha, rather than Mu, who took on the responsibility for writing the highest number of rubrics, especially those pertaining to ecclesiastical fiefs. Of those ecclesiastical

[146] GDB, fols. 75r, 143r, 162v; GDB, fol. 179r; GDB, fol. 209r.
[147] Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, p. 128; for more on Maurice's career, see Chapter 5 below.

fiefs, a special status seems to have been attributed to churches with dedications to St Peter, who is frequently named in the Exon rubrics, regardless of which scribe wrote them. St Peter's particular association with secular clerks, from the late-tenth into the eleventh century, might help to explain his appeal to the compilers of the Exon manuscript, if indeed they were clerks too.

In Great Domesday Book the 'checking scribe' identified by Michael Gullick and Caroline Thorn does not seem to have been responsible for writing any of the rubrics.[148] There is evidence of great care being taken over the clarity and precision of the chapter lists and headings in the manuscript, for example in the distinction between the episcopal and ministerial holdings of the bishops, but we cannot know whether such innovations were the work of Scribe A himself, or imposed on him from above. Whoever was responsible for these editorial decisions, he seems to have been someone familiar with the working of the royal chapel, judging by his concern to mark out estates which had been granted to bishops in their former capacity as royal clerks. That this distinction was not inherited from the circuit returns is strongly suggested by the fact that, in the Exon rubrics for Somerset, Bishops Osmund of Salisbury and Giso of Wells are both referred to by name, while in the Great Domesday chapter list for Somerset they are given their diocesan styles and only Bishop Maurice is named.

In terms of the order in which bishops appear in the Great Domesday chapter lists, a rough episcopal hierarchy does emerge but it is a flexible one, unconstrained by many firm criteria beyond the requirement that the

[148] Michael Gullick and Caroline Thorn, 'The scribes of Great Domesday Book: a preliminary account', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 8 (1986), 78–80.

archbishop of Canterbury follow the king. No individual bishop is consistently promoted to a higher place in the hierarchy than the stipulations of contemporary canon law dictated and there is nothing in the chapter lists to help identify any particular candidate as a likely contender for the role of 'man behind the survey'. Whoever Scribe A was, he was a master of self-effacement, as was his supervisor if he had one. In general, I am inclined to agree with Sally Harvey that, if there *was* a Domesday mastermind, Rannulf Flambard 'deserves to start favourite for the title', but that the survey was more likely to have been a collaborative bureaucratic exercise, not the innovation of a single creative genius, defined by administrative processes as much as personalities.[149] Nevertheless, the ability of Scribe A to condense and rearrange so much material and present it in a form which is still accessible to readers more than nine hundred years later, stands as a truly remarkable achievement.

[149] Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, pp. 115–24, e130.

Chapter 5: An English *Reichskirchensystem*? The Anglo-Norman Episcopate in a Continental Context

The preceding chapters have sought to demonstrate the central role played by the Anglo-Norman episcopate in the government of England after 1066, building upon Frank Barlow's arguments about the political involvement of post-Conquest bishops, and stressing that the active cooperation of a group of loyal and talented prelates was one of the most significant factors enabling William I to consolidate his rule over an institutionally advanced but heterogeneous and unfamiliar kingdom. The presence among the Conqueror's bishops of highly educated and cosmopolitan men, such as Thomas of Bayeux, William of St Calais and Robert the Lotharingian, has also been stressed throughout and connections between the English church and the Continent, both before and after the Conquest, have been highlighted.

This chapter expands upon these earlier observations of international influence and places the political and administrative activities of the post-Conquest episcopate firmly within a wider European context. It argues that the eleventh-century church was characterised by the movement not only of personnel, but also of ideas about the political role of the church in royal government, and that models more often found in the literature on Continental bishops might actually be just as applicable to England under William the Conqueror. In particular, it addresses the extensive scholarship on the relationship between the German emperors and their bishops in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This literature has come to be dominated by a debate over

the existence and functioning of a *Reichskirchensystem*, or 'imperial church system', whereby Ottonian and Salian rulers sought to govern through their bishops, by keeping a tight hold over episcopal appointments, and endowing bishops with rights and powers, which they were expected to use on behalf of the king.[1] It is suggested here that William I may actually have come as close as any of his German counterparts to creating a functioning 'church system' in England in the decades after the Conquest.

Bishops and the Continent before 1066

In order to assess how innovative William I's ecclesiastical policy was in his conquered kingdom, and how far it was affected by specific Continental practices, it is first necessary to consider the character of the episcopate that the king inherited in 1066. Historians' conceptions of the relationship between the English church and the Continent in the tenth and eleventh centuries have shifted a great deal since Z. N. Brooke asserted that 'William I brought the English Church back again into line with the Church as a whole' and that 'the renewed connection with the Continent' was 'one of the principal results of the Conquest'.[2] It has since been widely accepted that the late Anglo-Saxon church, though geographically on the periphery of Europe, was far from isolated.[3]

[1] A more comprehensive definition of the *Reichskirchensystem* model, and a summary of the historiography, is to be found below, pp. 249–52.
[2] Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), p. 23.
[3] See, for example, Frank Barlow, *The English church, 1000–1066: A Constitutional History* (London: Longman, 1963), pp. 10–23; 'Introduction', *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge:

The tenth-century Benedictine reform movement was deeply influenced by reforming trends abroad and occurred against a backdrop of 'religious traffic' between the West Saxon rulers of England and the Ottonian empire.[4] Moving into the eleventh century, Frank Barlow observed that 'besides this natural intercourse between England and the maritime countries of northern Europe and its ties with Germany, there were the roads to Rome, Byzantium and Jerusalem', highlighting the growing number of English pilgrims who made journeys across the Continent in this period.[5] Eljas Oksanen highlighted the parallel political development of England and Flanders during the period of the Viking raids and afterwards.[6] Veronica Ortenberg's 1992 monograph *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* offered a meticulous survey of the many spiritual and cultural connections between England and her European neighbours.[7] Ortenberg stressed the fact that these cultural exchanges worked in both directions and that 'the borrowing of Continental elements, when it took place, was never indiscriminate, but prompted by a deliberate choice'.[8]

Boydell Press, 2011), 1–26, pp. 3–4; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 249–50, 362.

[4] For 'religious traffic' between rulers in the tenth century see Karl Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 73–104, pp. 79–81; for the Continental background of the Benedictine reform see Donald A. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. D. Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1995), 20–36.

[5] Barlow, *The English church, 1000–1066*, p. 20.

[6] Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066–1216* (Cambridge: Camrbridge University Press, 2012), pp. 7–14.

[7] Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[8] Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent*, p. 264.

In terms of clerical and episcopal appointments, the reign of Edward the Confessor in particular saw an intensification of Continental influence. Although Cnut had promoted his Lotharingian clerk Duduc to Wells in 1033, most of the bishops appointed during his reign were English monks, rather than Continental clerics.[9] Barlow characterised Cnut's appointments as 'respectable, but unadventurous' and the king himself as a 'traditionalist' in ecclesiastical affairs.[10] By contrast, Edward raised three Normans and three Lotharingians to the episcopal bench, appointing Robert of Jumièges first to London (1044–1051) and then, with disastrous consequences, to Canterbury (1051–1052), Ulf to Dorchester (1049–1052), William to London (1051–1075), Hermann to Ramsbury (1045–1078), Walter to Hereford (1060–1079), and Giso to Wells (1061–1088).[11] He also patronised numerous Continental clerics, such as Helinand, later bishop of Laon, who was recommended to the king by his sister Godgifu's husband, Drogo, count of Vexin.[12]

There is also evidence of native-born prelates spending significant periods of time on the Continent in the mid-eleventh century. Bishop Leofric of Exeter (1046–1072), for example, was probably born in Cornwall but was educated in Lotharingia. He returned to England with King Edward in 1042 and in 1046 was appointed to the impoverished south-western bishopric of

[9] M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 147–50; R. R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period', *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936), 385–428, pp. 392–3.
[10] Barlow, *1000–1066*, p. 75.
[11] For Edward's episcopal appointments see Mary Frances Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73; for a comparison of Edward and William's ecclesiastical policies, see below, pp. 265–6.
[12] Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100*, (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2013), p. 17.

Crediton. Upon moving his see from rural Crediton to the much larger city of Exeter in 1050, Leofric instituted a *vita communis* among the canons of his new cathedral, under the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, a testament to the influence of his Lotharingian training.[13] Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, meanwhile, made an extended stay with Archbishop Hermann of Cologne in 1054 and was so impressed by the liturgical practices he observed there that he later attempted to reform the cathedral chapter at York along similar lines, along with the minsters of Beverley and Southwell.[14]

Foreign and native prelates also made numerous shorter visits to the Continent during the Confessor's reign, on royal and ecclesiastical business, and sometimes journeyed even further afield, as when Ealdred made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1058.[15] As Barlow noted, the number and frequency of these journeys increased with the growing volume of ecclesiastical business being transacted in the early stages of the papal reform movement.[16] In 1049 England sent representatives to the Council of Reims, convened by Pope Leo IX. The 'E' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the attendance there of Bishop Duduc of Wells, accompanied by Abbot Wulfric of St Augustine's and Abbot Ælfwine of Ramsey.[17] The Chronicle also states that Ealdred and Hermann of

[13] For the influence of secular Rules in England see Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Anglo–Norman Durham,* ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 25–39, pp. 30–4; for Leofric's Lotharingian background see Erika Corradini, 'Leofric of Exeter and his Lotharingian Connections: A Bishop's Books, *c* 1050–72' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2008), especially Chapter 1.
[14] Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities', p. 33.
[15] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), (D) *s.a.* 1049, p. 134.
[16] Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 21.
[17] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (E) *s.a.* 1046 (*recte* 1049), pp. 111–2; for commentary on this council see *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* vol. 1, part 1: *871–*

Ramsbury went to Rome in 1049 or 1050 on royal business,[18] and the 'E' version tells us that Ulf of Dorchester attended a papal synod at Vercelli in 1050.[19] The *Vita Ædwardi*, meanwhile, provides a detailed account of a journey to Rome in 1061 by Ealdred, Earl Tostig, Walter of Hereford and Giso of Wells, during which the archbishop was threatened with deposition by Pope Nicholas II, for holding the sees of York and Worcester in plurality.[20] It seems clear that such Continental journeys were an accepted, even routine, aspect of episcopal service during the Confessor's reign.[21]

In addition to patronising Norman clerics in his own court, Edward also remained in contact with ecclesiastics in the duchy itself after his return from exile. In 1054, the king was visited in England by John of Ravenna, the abbot of Fécamp. Frank Barlow even suggested that John may have been responsible for the Romanesque design of the rebuilt Westminster Abbey, although Eric Fernie believed it more likely that the rebuilding was begun under the auspices of Robert of Jumièges, during his time as bishop of London (1044–1051), and R. D. H. Gem highlighted the fact that two of the master masons known to have been involved in the construction of the new abbey had English names.[22] It is also

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1066, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), no. 69, pp. 521–4.

[18] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (C) *s.a.* 1049, pp. 114–5, (D,E) *s.a.* 1050, p. 116. Dorothy Whitelock suggests that the discrepancy between the dates given for this journey in different versions of the Chronicle indicates that Hermann and Ealdred left for Rome before 25 March in 1050, since the 'C' text habitually dates the new year from Lady Day.

[19] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (E) *s.a.* 1047 (*recte* 1050), p. 116; *Councils and Synods,* vol. 1, part 1, no. 72, pp. 533–7.

[20] *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1992), pp. 52–7.

[21] *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). This collection of essays focuses heavily on travel between England, Rome and other Continental destinations from the sixth to the eleventh century.

[22] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Yale University Press, 2nd edn, 1997), pp. 205, 230–1; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

possible that Edward granted land at Steyning in Sussex to the abbey of La Trinité, Fécamp, in addition to the manor of 'Rameslie' that the monks had already received from King Cnut, but the charter evidence on this point is rather suspect.[23] Pierre Chaplais and David Bates both argued that it was unlikely the grant took effect during Edward's lifetime, though Ann Williams thought it probable that some sort of writ concerning Steyning *was* issued by the Confessor for Fécamp.[24] More certain is that in 1046 Edward granted West Mersea in Essex to the monks of Saint-Ouen of Rouen and in 1061 he bequeathed twenty-five hides at Ottery in Devon to Archbishop Maurilius and the cathedral church of Notre Dame.[25] Ottery remained the most valuable of Rouen's English possessions, even when the cathedral added to its cross-channel holdings after the Conquest.[26] Edward also issued a diploma in favour of Saint-Denis in 1059.[27]

The years after 1066 saw a rapid increase in the amount of property held by Norman monasteries in England. Christopher Holdsworth calculated that in the Great Domesday account of Devon, Norman churches are recorded as holding lands worth a total of £119 by 1086, while the holdings of native

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2002), p. 96; R. D. H. Gem, 'The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 3 (1981), 33–60.

[23] S 1054; *Anglo–Saxon Writs*, ed. F. E. Harmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 16, n. 1; Donald Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and The English Possessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 19–22.

[24] *'Regesta Regum Anglo–Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), no. 141, p. 469; Pierre Chaplais 'Une charte originale de Guillaume le Conquérant pour l'abbaye de Fécamp: la donation de Steyning et de Bury (1085)', *L'Abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, vol. 1 (Fécamp: L. Durand, 1959), 93–104, 335–37; Ann Williams, 'The Piety of Earl Godwine', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 34 (2012), 237–56, p. 246.

[25] Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and Their English Possessions*, pp. 24–5; for the drafting of the diploma detailing this grant see Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (sic)', *Anglo–Norman Studies* 10 (1988), 185–222, pp. 200–1.

[26] Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries*, p. 25.

[27] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 101.

churches were worth £117.[28] There were thus large acquisitions after 1066 but the precedent for the transfer of landed wealth to foreign houses had been set before the Conquest.

The ecclesiastical policy of William the Conqueror

It is clear, then, that the church of the pre-Conquest period was in close contact with the Continent and that Edward the Confessor, in particular, actively embraced foreign influences and personnel when it came to the appointment of his leading ecclesiastics. The Norman Conquest was not a singular event which brought the English church back into line with the Continental mainstream. In reality it had never lost touch. Yet the reign of William I did mark a significant shift in the relationship between the king and his bishops, witnessing as it did the promotion of more foreigners and more royal clerks than any previous reign, as well as the intensification of royal government and the role of the episcopate within it. The rest of this chapter will consider whether the Conqueror's ecclesiastical policy differed in kind or only in degree from those of his predecessors, how systematic it was, and how far it was comparable with his own prior practice in Normandy and with the practice of other European monarchs, especially the Ottonian and Salian emperors.

Few concepts have as long a pedigree in the historiography of the German empire as that of the *Reichskirchensystem*.[29] The idea was expressed as

[28] Christopher Holdsworth, 'The Church at Domesday', *Domesday Essays*, ed. Christopher Holdsworth (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986), 51–64, p. 56.
[29] For a summary of the literature on the *Reichskirchensystem* see Steffen Patzold, 'L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévistique allemande', *Cahiers de civilisation*

early as 1878 by Heinrich Gerdes, who wrote about a new political system pioneered by Otto I, whereby Otto governed with the aid of his higher clergy to counterbalance the centrifugal tendencies of the duchies which comprised his realm, though the term was not coined until 1954 by Leo Santifaller.[30] Later scholars refined the model and stressed different elements of the system. Josef Fleckenstein produced a detailed study of the Ottonian and Salian royal chapel, outlining its changing composition during the reign of Otto I's successors, noting connections between the imperial chaplains and the cathedral chapters where many also served as canons, and charting their strategic promotion to bishoprics.[31] Leopold Auer and Friedrich Prinz focused on the role of clerics in warfare and the episcopal contingents in Ottonian armies.[32] Prosopographical research by Herbert Zielinski and Albrecht Graf Finck von Finckenstein helped to illuminate the social origins of the predominantly aristocratic German bishops of the tenth to twelfth centuries.[33]

médiévale Xe-XIIe siècles, 48 (2005), 341–58; and also R. Schieffer, 'Der ottonische Reichsepiskopat zwischen Königtum und Adel', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 291–301.

[30] Heinrich Gerdes, *Die Bischofswahlen in Deutschland unter Otto dem Grossen in den Jahren 953 bis 973* (Hamburg: Göttingen, 1878), p. 6; L. Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 229 (Wien: R. Rohrer, 1954).

[31] Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, ii. Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch- salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 16/II (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966).

[32] Leopold Auer, 'Der Kriegdienst der Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen des Institus für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 79 (1971), 316–407; F. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im fruüheren Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1971).

[33] Albrecht Graf Finck von Finckenstein, *Bischof und Reich: Untersuchungen zum Integrationsprozess des ottonisch-frühsalischen Reiches (919-1056)* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1989); Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984).

Specialised studies such as these added detail to the outlines of the *Reichskirchensystem* but its basic tenets continued to be conceived of as follows: the German emperors after Otto I used the church systematically as an instrument of government, by appointing favoured young clerics to the royal chapel, where they were trained in royal service and administration, before promoting the most promising candidates to the episcopate. Once in office these curial bishops were endowed with 'land and rights, which were expected to be used on the king's behalf and in his service'.[34] Several scholars have contrasted how deeply intertwined the German episcopate and royal administration were in this period with the greater level of independence from the Capetian monarchy displayed by French bishops, especially as conciliar activity increased in France in the second half of the eleventh century. The more developed nature of the Ottonian and Salian court bureaucracy has been seen as explaining why the German higher clergy attended royal assemblies more regularly and in greater numbers than their French counterparts.[35]

In a 1982 article, however, Timothy Reuter questioned the very foundation of the *Reichskirchensystem*, namely that it was indeed a deliberate and systematic policy, rather than a series of contingent responses to individual circumstances. Reuter noted that many royal chaplains were also aristocrats in

[34] Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 33 (1982), 347–74, p. 348.
[35] Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich', *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz: Selbsverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengschichte, 2000), 79–127; Jean-François Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens* (Paris: Picard, 1965), esp. pp. 146–8; Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Les évêques dans l'entourage royal sous les premiers Capétiens', *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard, 1992), 91–8.

their own right and/or cathedral canons, with potential local links that might have secured their promotion anyway, and also stressed that even during the reigns of Otto III and Henry II, the supposed apogee of the *Reichskirchensystem*, over a third of bishoprics went to men who had not been chaplains.[36] He argued that the inability of German monarchs to depose their prelates once in office — even those 'who flirted with or joined rebellions' — meant that the king's hold over them was never absolute, and thus they should not be viewed as a kind of civil service.[37] He conceded that the relationship between the Ottonian and Salian monarchs and their prelates was a close one but viewed it as being part of the more general exercise of patronage by medieval monarchs in return for services rendered, rather than anything systematic or unique to the *Reich*.

Reuter's arguments provoked a reply from Fleckenstein, who stressed that the dual role of bishops, as churchmen and royal servants, was central to contemporary conceptions of episcopal office and pointed to passages in the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseberg and the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, which highlighted the position of the Emperor as head of the *ecclesia imperii*.[38] Although Fleckenstein accepted some of Reuter's modifications of the *Reichskirchensystem* theory, he did not see them as being fatal to the whole concept. Among Anglophone scholars, Fleckenstein's interpretation was accepted and reasserted by C. Stephen Jaeger in his study of the role of

[36] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 351–3.
[37] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 356–7.
[38] Josef Fleckenstein, 'Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche', *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985), 83–98, pp. 89, 93, 96.

cathedral schools in medieval Europe.[39] The dispute over the existence and extent of a true 'imperial church system' in the tenth- and eleventh-century Empire has still not been entirely resolved. Indeed, Steffen Patzold argued in 2005 that the entire debate was somewhat misplaced, focusing as it did on the role of bishops as representatives of either the king or the lay aristocracy, rather that on their position as a separate and truly ecclesiastical elite.[40]

This chapter does not purport to contribute anything new directly to the discussion of the Ottonian and Salian episcopate. Rather it takes the theoretical outlines of the *Reichskirchensystem*, as delineated in the work of Gerdes, Fleckenstein, Auer, and others, and questioned by Reuter, and tests their applicability to the English episcopate under William I. In so doing, it is influenced by Reuter's suggestion that the medieval German episcopate might not have seemed unique to historians had it been viewed more often in comparison with other European polities.

Ottonian parallels with the eleventh-century English episcopate have previously been noted by a number of scholars. H. R. Loyn, when discussing the bishops of Edward the Confessor's reign, argued that 'the general tendency was more in the direction of administrative bishops, men trained in the royal curia, carrying on the familiar pattern of close co-operation between the king and his bishops so characteristic of the late Carolingian and Ottonian periods on the Continent'.[41] Frank Barlow described how Lanfranc's intense loyalty to King William and active cooperation in royal government 'helped towards the re-

[39] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 43–6, 388, n. 15.
[40] Patzold, 'L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge', p. 349.
[41] H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940–1154* (London: Longman, 2000), p. 63.

establishment of the *ecclesia anglicana* as a royal church of the traditional type'.[42] Catherine Cubitt observed the limited role that cathedral communities, with the exception of Winchester, seem to have played in the appointment of bishops in the 150 years before the Norman Conquest, and wrote that 'I feel very aware here that I am moving towards the idea of a *Reichskirchensystem* – a royal church system – without possessing the type of detailed evidence concerning episcopal elections that Reuter used to critique the German concept.'[43]

In what follows, I shall build on these arguments and suggest that William I came as close as any of his contemporaries to implementing a systematic ecclesiastical policy and governing effectively through his bishops, and that this policy was informed both by his earlier experiences of government in Normandy and by the unique circumstances of the post-Conquest period in England. The analysis will borrow the division employed by Reuter between, on the one hand, bishops' social and professional backgrounds and the circumstances of their promotion and, on the other, their conduct and relationship with the king once in office. Similarities and differences with Continental practice, and pre-Conquest English precedent, will be highlighted throughout.

[42] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 60–1

[43] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 367–8; Catherine Cubitt, 'Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 111–26, p. 125.

Episcopal appointments in Normandy and England

The individual origins of the Conqueror's episcopal appointments in England were outlined in Chapter 1 and need not be reiterated.[44] In general, it was observed that the men chosen tended to have impeccable professional credentials, having often been educated at some of the most prestigious cathedral schools on the Continent, but that their familial circumstances were usually more modest than those of their Continental counterparts. Moreover, twelve of the eighteen bishops appointed to English sees during William's reign had previously served in the royal chapel. Of the six who had not, two were suffragan bishops of Rochester who, according to Eadmer, were customarily appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury rather than the king.[45] Thus three-quarters of the episcopal appointments for which the king was personally responsible went to former *capellani*.[46]

The use of the royal chapel as a training ground for future bishops, producing candidates for office who understood the workings of royal administration and whose loyalty was guaranteed by the fact that they owed

[44] See Chapter 1, pp. 46–53.

[45] Martin Brett, 'The Church at Rochester, 604–1185', *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral, 604-1994*, ed. Nigel Yates, with Paul A. Welsby (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), 1–28, p. 10.

[46] These were Walkelin of Winchester (1070–1098), Herfast of Thetford (1070–1084), Stigand of Selsey/Chichester (1070–1087), Archbishop Thomas of York (1070–1100), Osbern of Exeter (1072–1103), Peter of Lichfield/Chester (1072–1085), Hugh of London (1075–1085), Osmund of Salisbury (1078–1099), Robert of Hereford (1079–1095), Robert of Chester/Coventry (1085–1117), William of Thetford (1085–1091) and Maurice of London (1085–1107). The four bishops who were not former *capellani* were Remigius of Dorchester/Lincoln (1067–1092), Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070–1093), Walcher of Durham (1071–1080) and his successor in that see, William of St Calais (1080–1096). The bishops of Rochester were Arnost (1075–1076) and Gundulf (1076–1108).

their positions entirely to the king, is a central element of the *Reichskirchensystem* hypothesis. In purely numerical terms, it is evident that William I relied heavily on his chapel to fill episcopal vacancies but the question remains whether there is any evidence that this practice was motivated by long-term strategic considerations, rather than simple expediency. In his study of the patronage exercised by Anglo-Norman kings in favour of their bishops, Everett U. Crosby argued that none of the kings between 1066 and 1216 could be said to have an ecclesiastical policy 'if by that phrase is meant an established and coherent and consistent program with clearly defined goals'.[47] He viewed episcopal appointments by William I and his successors as being dictated by a mixture of custom and short term self-interest.[48] This chapter argues that, on the contrary, the Conqueror had a clear sense of the shape of the episcopate he wished to create when he began appointing bishops to English dioceses in 1067.

One strong indication of a deliberate strategy lies in an observable shift in the 1050s and 1060s in the nature of William's episcopal appointments as Duke of Normandy. Thanks in large part to the work of Richard Allen, whose doctoral thesis charted the careers of every identifiable bishop of a Norman diocese between 989 and 1110, it is now possible to compare the backgrounds of the men who held episcopal office on either side of the channel in the mid-eleventh century.[49] Twelve bishops were appointed to fill thirteen vacancies in Norman sees between the victory of Duke William at Val-ès-Dunes in 1047,

[47] Everett U. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 28.
[48] Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, p. 28.
[49] Richard Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, October 2009). The chronological list of Norman bishops which follows relies on Allen's research into their origins.

which effectively marked the beginning of his personal rule in the duchy, and his death in 1087. In chronological order these appointments were as follows:

Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées (c.1047/8–1070): Simultaneously bishop of Sées and lord of Bellême, Ivo was a member of a prominent noble family in the south of the duchy. He remained largely absent from the ducal sphere of influence and was not involved in the invasions of Maine or of England. Though not actively hostile to William's cause, he and his family cultivated links with the French monarchy and the counts of Anjou.[50] He reinvigorated episcopal authority in Sées itself and was probably responsible for the construction of the great motte of Saint-Pierre in the city.[51]

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances (1048/1049–1093): Geoffrey came from a noble family but his exact origins remain unclear. According to Orderic Vitalis, he was the uncle of Robert de Mowbray, who became Earl of Northumberland in 1086. Geoffrey participated in, and was a major beneficiary of, the Conquest of England, where he spent most of his subsequent career.[52]

Odo, bishop of Bayeux (c.1049–1097): Perhaps the most studied of all Norman bishops, Odo was the half-brother of Duke William on his mother's side. He turned the cathedral chapter of Bayeux into a centre of learning in the

[50] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 408–19.
[51] Joseph Decaens, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1995), 117–37, pp. 136–7.
[52] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 176–8; for Geoffrey's career in England see also John Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, 1049–1093', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 134–43.

duchy, participated in the invasion of England and played an active role in English government until his disgrace and imprisonment in 1082.[53] Archbishop Thomas I of York (1070–1100), his brother Bishop Samson of Worcester (1096–1112) and William of St Calais, bishop of Durham (1080–1096) all began their careers at Bayeux under the tutelage of Bishop Odo.[54] Orderic described him as a great patron of learning in his cathedral chapter, who readily sent promising clerks to Liège and other cities, where they could receive a full education in the liberal arts, of a kind that could not be obtained in contemporary Normandy.[55]

Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen (1055–1067): Born into a noble family in Reims, Maurilius was a monk, but had been educated in the cathedral school at Liège. Afterwards he became a *scholasticus* at Halberstadt in Saxony. He made two stays at the abbey of Fécamp in 1030 and 1050, between which he attempted an eremitic life in Italy and served as the abbot of St Mary's, Florence. Maurilius had connections with some of the leading ecclesiastics of his day including William of Volpiano, Peter Damian, and John of Ravenna.[56]

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[53] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 120–60; for Odo's career in England see also David Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–1097)', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 1–20;
[54] For the relationship between Bayeux and the royal chapel and episcopate in England see Chapter 1, pp. 53–4.
[55] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980), IV, pp. 118–9; Monique Dosdat, 'Les évêques de la province de Rouen et la vie intellectuelle au XI^{e} siècle', *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle,* ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1995), 223–52, pp. 226–7.
[56] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 325, 340.

John, bishop of Avranches (1060–1067): John came from a very prominent noble family. He was the nephew of Duke Richard I, the uncle of William fitzOsbern, later Earl of Hereford, and the brother of Odo's predecessor, Bishop Hugh of Bayeux (c.1011–1049). Despite his high status, little is known of John's career before his appointment to Avranches. He seems not to have had any previous connection with the city.[57]

Baldwin, bishop of Évreux (1066–1071): Baldwin was not aristocratic and may not have been Norman. Allen points out that the name is a Flemish one. He served as a ducal chaplain for at least eight years before his promotion and was the first man to be raised to the episcopate in eleventh-century Normandy who had no identifiable aristocratic connections.[58]

John, archbishop of Rouen (1067–1079): After the death of Maurilius, the chapter at Rouen are alleged to have chosen Lanfranc to succeed him. This succession did not occur, however, and the Conqueror instead sanctioned the transfer of John of Avranches to the archbishopric. His translation was confirmed by Pope Alexander II.[59]

Michael, bishop of Avranches (1068–1094): Michael was Italian by birth but otherwise his origins are unknown. He may have been a protégé of Lanfranc and his alleged scholarliness is noted by Orderic. He was a ducal and, briefly, a

[57] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 61–2.
[58] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 224.
[59] For the election and refusal of Lanfranc see below, pp. 263–4; for the translation of John see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 343.

royal chaplain, in which capacity he attested a diploma issued at Winchester c.1068.[60]

Gilbert son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux (1071–1112): Gilbert may have been related to the ducal steward Osbern and his son William fitzOsbern, although the relationship is far from certain.[61] Osbern was a common name in eleventh-century Normandy and only Orderic uses the patronymic.[62] He had previously been archdeacon of Lisieux, in which capacity he was responsible for putting the case for the 1066 invasion of England to the pope. He was never a chaplain.[63]

Robert de Ryes, bishop of Sées (c.1071–1081/2): Robert was the son of Hubert de Ryes, who had saved Duke William during his 1046 flight from Valognes, and the brother of Eudo *dapifer*, who served as the king's steward in England. Unlike his predecessor in the see of Sées, Robert was often at the ducal court.[64]

Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux (1077–1101): According to Orderic, Gilbert was the son of a lesser Norman knight. The origins of his sobriquet are uncertain. He served as a royal chaplain and physician and attended the

[60] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 75.
[61] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 226.
[62] *Orderic Vitalis*, II, pp. 253–4.
[63] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 226.
[64] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 426

Conqueror's deathbed. By time of the king's death he had a 'vast kin network in England' and personal holdings in five Domesday shires.[65]

William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (1079–1110): William was the son of Radbod, bishop of Sées (c. 1025–1032 × c.1047), and the cousin of William Fleitel, bishop of Évreux (c.1046–1066). He had previously served as abbot of Saint-Étienne, Caen. The Conqueror defended Bona Anima's position against Gregory VII, who objected to the fact that the archbishop's father had been a priest, and secured his firm loyalty as a result. [66]

Gerard I, bishop of Sées (1082–1091): The last of William's Norman episcopal appointments, Gerard may have been dean of Évreux before his promotion. He seems to have been a solid diocesan but not a major figure at the ducal court.[67]

Until the middle of the eleventh century, Norman bishops had been characterised above all by their aristocratic pedigree, often including a connection to the ducal line. As the careers of figures such as William Fleitel, bishop of Évreux (c.1046–1066) and Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux (1046 × 1047/8–1077) demonstrate, these noble bishops were often also capable administrators, active politicians, strong advocates for their dioceses and patrons of the monastic movement.[68] Duke William's early appointment of his

[65] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 276–7.
[66] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 366.
[67] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 432.
[68] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 217–23, 260–75.

brother Odo as bishop of Bayeux in c.1049 was thus entirely in keeping with the existing successful tradition for filling vacant bishoprics in the duchy.

Yet from the middle of the 1050s, William altered his policy and began, apparently deliberately, to appoint men who had no connection to the duchy's great families, or to the dukes themselves. The catalyst for this diversification of the Norman episcopate seems to have been the rebellion in 1053 of the duke's uncle, Count William of Arques, in which the count's brother, Archbishop Mauger of Rouen, may have been complicit. Until this point in his reign, William had leaned heavily on Mauger's experience and ecclesiastical authority. After the rebellion, however, the young duke clearly came to view his uncle as politically unreliable.[69] At a council held in Lisieux in 1054 or 1055 Mauger was deposed by a papal legate, in the presence of the duke and all six Norman suffragans, on a variety of canonical grounds, with no explicit mention of the rebellion.[70] This instrumentalisation of the papacy for essentially political purposes was a strategy that William was to employ once again in England in 1070.[71]

Mauger's replacement, Maurilius, was a very different kind of prelate from those who had previously held office in Normandy. Saintly and ascetic, yet also highly educated and cosmopolitan, Maurilius had a wide network of

[69] For William's earlier political reliance on Mauger and a portrait of the archbishop as a prelate in the Carolingian mould, see David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 75–6; for a view of Mauger as a more active and intellectually curious reformer, see Richard Allen, 'Avant Lanfranc. Un réexamen de la carrière de Mauger, archevêque de Rouen (1037-1054/55)', *Autour de Lanfranc (1010-2010): Réforme et réformateurs dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (XIe-XIIe siècles)*, ed. Julia Barrow, Fabrice Delivré and Véronique Gazeau (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2015), 131–51, esp. pp. 135–7.
[70] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 322–3.
[71] See Chapter 1, pp. 35–7.

ecclesiastical connections spanning France and the Empire. Moreover, he was an outsider in Normandy, having been born to noble parents in Reims in eastern France, near the Lotharingian border. In all these respects, Maurilius' background and training had parallels with those of Lanfranc and it is perhaps not surprising, either that the two men were close or that, after Maurilius' death in 1067, the community at Rouen cathedral are alleged to have chosen Lanfranc as his successor.[72] In discussing why Lanfranc did not become archbishop of Rouen, H. E. J. Cowdrey suggests that it may have been due to a reluctance on the part of Duke William to remove him so soon from the abbacy of the ducal foundation at Caen, or perhaps a desire to reserve him for Canterbury.[73] To this, we might add a third possibility, that Lanfranc himself, despite later protestations to the contrary, declined the archbishopric of Rouen with the more prestigious see of Canterbury in mind.[74]

The Conqueror made three other episcopal appointments in Normandy between the arrival of Maurilius in 1055 and the 1070 Council of Winchester which initiated the overhaul of the English episcopate. The first promotion, of John of Ivry to Avranches in 1060, was very much in line with the typical Norman practice of choosing relatives of the ducal line for high ecclesiastical office. The other two appointments, however, were of a new kind. The first was Baldwin to Évreux in 1066 and the second Michael to Avranches to replace Bishop John in 1068. We know very little about the early lives of either of these

[72] For the relationship between Maurilius and Lanfranc, see Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 333–4, 341; for the election of Lanfranc to Rouen see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003), pp. 37–8.
[73] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 38.
[74] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), no. 1.

men but it seems that neither of them came from noble families. Michael, moreover, was Italian by birth, Baldwin may have been Flemish and, crucially, both had served as ducal chaplains before their promotions, the first Norman bishops to follow this career path.[75]

Taken together, the appointments of Maurilius, Baldwin and Michael seem to indicate the Conqueror trialling, on a relatively limited scale, an ecclesiastical policy which he would subsequently apply more systematically in England. On both sides of the channel the deposition of a politically suspect and canonically compromised archbishop was effected through the intervention of a papal legate. The new metropolitans appointed to replace them were highly educated monks, rather than secular clerics, born outside of Normandy, who combined a willingness to hold reforming councils with unfaltering loyalty to the duke/king who had appointed them. Suffragan bishops, meanwhile, were appointed often, though not exclusively, from the ranks of ducal and royal chaplains and tended to be less well born than their German or earlier Norman counterparts.

It seems likely that the crisis of 1053–1055 was an important factor behind this shift in emphasis in William's ecclesiastical policy but the preparations for, and aftermath of, the invasion of England probably played an even more significant role. After 1066, there were inevitably long periods of time during which the Conqueror was absent from each of his dominions and a capable and loyal episcopate was a significant advantage in continuing to govern a cross-channel realm effectively. Michael of Avranches, for example,

[75] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', pp. 75, 224.

seems to have helped Queen Mathilda to govern the duchy during some of her husband's stays in England, joined later by Gilbert Maminot: royal chaplain, physician, and bishop of Lisieux from 1077.[76] If this was a strategy, then it seems to have been an effective one, since William replicated it on a much grander scale in his English appointments after 1070, eschewing aristocrats — including his brother Odo, who was made earl over Kent but might have expected the archbishopric of Canterbury — in favour of chaplains.

The Conqueror was not the first eleventh-century king of England to experiment with the power of the royal chapel as a recruiting ground for bishops and an instrument of royal government. Edward the Confessor had attempted a similar strategy during the early years of his reign. Indeed, the practice of promoting royal priests to bishoprics was part of a long tradition, dating back at least to the reign of King Alfred, whose priest and biographer Asser became bishop of Sherborne at the end of the ninth century.[77] Under Edward, however, the preferment of royal clerks became a more deliberate and strategic policy, with over half of his episcopal appointments being secular priests.[78]

Edward's boldness in intruding his foreign clerks into English dioceses may be contrasted with the relative caution of King Cnut, who tended to prefer local monks and abbots.[79] However, the Confessor's political power waned after

[76] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', p. 80.
[77] Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', p. 165.
[78] Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', p. 159.
[79] Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', p. 161; for more on Cnut's ecclesiastical policy see Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 77–8, 94–5;
for a visual representation of the professional composition of the English episcopate in the first half of the eleventh century see Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 63.

the crisis of 1051–2, which saw first the exile and then the forceful return of the Godwinesson family, followed by the flight of Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ulf, bishop of Dorchester. The episcopal appointments made during Edward's later years reflect local and comital interests, at least as much as the king's own: Bishop Leofgar of Hereford, for example, had been Earl Harold's chaplain, while Æthelric of Selsey was the choice of the cathedral chapter.[80] Edward seems to have attempted the implementation of a 'church system' early in his reign but was sometimes compelled to defer to local interests. After 1066, the Conqueror had unparalleled freedom to appoint prelates whose only loyalties were to him.

Moreover, the new king had two other advantages when he began to actively reshape the English episcopate in 1070. The first was the support of the reform papacy under Pope Alexander II, a former pupil of Lanfranc who had already endorsed the Conquest.[81] Alexander's willingness to send papal legates to England in 1070, including Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion, who reprised the role he had played in the deposition of Archbishop Mauger fifteen years earlier, helped William to circumvent one of the major difficulties with the *Reichskirchensystem*, as highlighted by Reuter; namely the inability of kings to remove politically troublesome bishops, except on canonical grounds.[82] Even in the case of Æthelric of Selsey, whose deposition so troubled Alexander that he wrote to Lanfranc ordering that the English bishop be reinstated and tried

[80] Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', pp. 170–1.
[81] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 31.
[82] For the role of Ermenfrid as a papal legate see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance Following the Battle of Hastings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 20 (1969), 225–42, pp. 227–9; for the difficulty of deposing bishops see Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 356–7.

according to canon law, the pope was nevertheless happy for Lanfranc himself to act as a papal judge delegate in the proposed trial.[83]

The second advantage was the fact that English cathedral chapters tended to be staffed by canons who were more likely to be absentees and 'had much less say in the choice of their colleagues than their German equivalents.'[84] Julia Barrow has linked the appearance of the term *capitulum* in charters issued by cathedral chapters in England from c.1140 with the greater legal separation between bishop and chapter in the first half of the twelfth century, and argued that it was accompanied by an increased emphasis on the corporate identity of the chapter.[85] Late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman cathedral chapters, however, seem to have been smaller, poorer and less subject to the control of 'powerful noble coteries' than their Continental counterparts.[86] Frank Barlow noted that, at the time of the Conquest, there were only seven canons at York, and even fewer at Rochester, Lichfield and Wells;[87] and the purported 'autobiography' of Bishop Giso of Wells recounts the bishop's concern at the impoverished state in which he found his see in 1061.[88] All this meant that cathedral communities in England, especially secular ones, were less likely to be the kind of powerful decision-making bodies we find in contemporary Germany,

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[83] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 7; Barlow, *English Church 1000–1066*, p. 113–4.
[84] Julia Barrow, 'Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends: a Comparison of Twelfth-Century German and English Practice', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), 536–64, pp. 563–4.
[85] Julia Barrow, 'Confirmed by the Dean and Chapter: Making and Keeping Records in the Diocese of Hereford in the Thirteenth Century', paper delivered at the colloquium *Écrire à l'ombre des cathédrales: Pratiques de l'écrit en milieu cathédral (espace Anglo-Normand et France de l'ouest — xie-xiiie siècle)* at Cerisy-la-Salle, June 2016.
[86] Julia Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38, p. 136.
[87] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 241.
[88] *Ecclesiastical Documents: viz. I. A brief history of the bishoprick of Somerset from its foundation to the year 1174. II. Charters from the library of Dr. Cox Macro*, ed. Joseph Hunter (London: Printed for the Camden Society, by J. B. Nichols and son, 1840), pp. 16–7.

able to influence the king's choice of episcopal nominees, and sometimes to shape the actions of their bishops once in office.[89]

Bishops in government in England after 1066

We have seen how a combination of fortuitous circumstances enabled William I to exercise particularly tight control over episcopal appointments in England after 1070. Control over appointments does not in itself constitute a 'church system', however, if it cannot also be proven that bishops played a systematic role in royal government once appointed. The previous four chapters have highlighted the wide range of political and administrative duties that the Conqueror's bishops carried out in the service of their king, from acting as royal justices and diplomatic envoys, to tutoring royal children, leading military operations and attending royal assemblies.[90] None of these services were in any way atypical or unexpected for an eleventh-century bishop. They all help to position Anglo-Norman prelates firmly within a longer tradition of Anglo-Saxon bishops serving their kings and all had contemporary parallels in the Empire.[91] Yet two interwoven aspects of English institutional development stand out as unusual within a wider European context, both of which may have affected the extent of episcopal involvement in royal government. The first is the evolution

[89] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 351, 357.
[90] For the variety of national roles played by the Conqueror's bishops see Chapter 2, pp. 91, 123–4.
[91] Barlow, *English Church 1000–1066*, pp. 96–9; Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', p. 373; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 194–5.

of the shire court system and the second the role of administrative literacy, especially vernacular royal writs.

Chapter 2 dealt in detail with the involvement of bishops in the shire courts of England, and how their role there was affected by the demise of the main territorial earldoms after 1066.[92] Before the Conquest it had been customary for the local earl and the diocesan bishop to preside together over biannual meetings of the shire court.[93] Although earls continued to exist in Anglo-Norman England, their role was greatly altered, with the title more often indicating personal status than an official administrative role.[94] Many of the administrative functions which had accrued to earls in the early eleventh century were devolved to sheriffs after 1066 and Judith Green has demonstrated that the wealth and power of William I's sheriffs increased dramatically with the eclipse of the earls in the shires.[95] Bishops, however, continued to preside over the shire court and their involvement must, like that of sheriffs, have taken on a proportionally greater significance once the earls were no longer present. Moreover, the presence of strategically appointed curial bishops in shire courts helped to create direct links between the royal court and local communities. It is also perhaps significant that neither the office of sheriff nor that of bishop was hereditary. Though the earls of the late Anglo-Saxon period were still appointed by the king, in practice incumbents tended to

[92] See Chapter 2 above, pp. 96–7.
[93] Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 139.
[94] Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 190.
[95] Judith Green, *English sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks, 24 (1990), p. 12.

be drawn from a small group of powerful families.[96] Post-Conquest bishops, by contrast, were drawn from a variety of social backgrounds and left no legitimate heirs.

In tandem with the shire court, royal government in the localities in the eleventh century operated by means of royal writs. These were short documents which carried royal instructions into the shires, authenticated by the king's seal and, until the 1070s, written exclusively in the vernacular.[97] Designed to be read aloud at shire assemblies, they were addressed to the men who presided over them and performed a wide variety of functions. Surviving examples of William I's writs include an order to the abbot of Peterborough to allow the abbot of Bury St Edmunds unencumbered access to stone for the rebuilding of his abbey church and an order to the sheriff of Middlesex that he and the citizens of London should not take deer from the forest of Archbishop Lanfranc at Harrow.[98] Where a writ dealt with the transfer of property, Richard Sharpe has suggested that the beneficiary of that transfer probably acted as a messenger, delivering the writ personally to the shire court, and retaining it afterwards, if he so desired.[99] Those which simply carried instructions, however, seem to have been treated as disposable. It is impossible to know how many writs may once have been issued, or what proportion have been lost.

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[96] Chris Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 207–24, pp. 208–9.

[97] The most detailed discussion of the form and utility of writs as an instrument of royal government is Richard Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 247–91, with a definition of terms at pp. 249–50.

[98] David Bates, ed., *'Regesta Regum Anglo–Normannorum': The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), nos. 44, 78.

[99] Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', pp. 252–3

Nevertheless, the shire system and the simplicity and flexibility of the royal writ as an instrument of government offered the English king a direct channel of communication with the localities, of a kind which was unparalleled in contemporary Europe. In a seminal essay of 1981 on 'Ottonian Government', Karl Leyser highlighted the contrast in the use of written instruments by tenth-century English and German monarchs, noting that, unlike in Wessex, the written vernacular was not used in the *Reich* and, more generally, that 'the amount of written government in Germany remained relatively inconspicuous apart from the diplomata, of which we possess more than 1300'.[100] Leyser recognised that writing played a crucial role in Anglo-Saxon government, even though England produced fewer surviving Latin diplomas than either France or Germany. He pointed in particular to 'the great spate of Witan ordinances in the vernacular so characteristic of tenth-century Wessex'.[101]

The existence of shire courts and the use of written documentation within them addresses two further issues raised by Reuter in his critique of the *Reichskirchensystem* in Germany. Reuter argued that it was unclear what form the power delegated by the king to his bishops actually took in practice in the localities, and that bishops and clerics were not particularly useful to the king on account of their literacy in a system of government which did not rely on writing.[102] In England, the public forum of the shire court provided a perfect mechanism for royal power to be devolved to bishops and earls or sheriffs at a local level and, in order for the court to function effectively, it required literate

[100] Karl Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 721–53, p. 728.
[101] Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', p. 729.
[102] Reuter, 'Imperial Church System', pp. 362, 364, 366.

people in attendance. Indeed, as Chapter 1 argued, the fact that the replacement of so many English bishops with foreigners in the early 1070s coincided with the shift in the primary language of royal administration from Old English to Latin, is in itself compelling evidence of the important role that bishops played within that administration.

All these elements of episcopal involvement in the government of eleventh-century England found their fullest expression in the Domesday survey of 1086. This unprecedented intensification of royal government could not have been achieved without the cooperation of William's bishops and the two previous chapters have sought to demonstrate the varied roles they may have played, both at the information gathering stage in the localities, and later in the process as the provincial returns were compiled and ultimately edited into Great Domesday Book.[103]

Moreover, as the successful completion of the Domesday survey in just eight months between Christmas 1085 and August 1086 highlights, administrative literacy in eleventh-century England was not restricted only to writs and diplomas. Internal institutional memoranda were produced and copied in this period, in Latin and the vernacular. Examples from Dorchester-on-Thames and Ely have been analysed in detail by John Blair and Rory Naismith.[104] As argued in Chapter 3, the draft version of the south-western portion of the survey found in the Exon Domesday manuscript reveals traces of

[103] For the role of bishops in the Domesday process in the South West, see Chapter 3; for the Domesday editing process and episcopal hierarchy in Great Domesday Book, see Chapter 4.
[104] John Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of c.1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 114–23; Rory Naismith, 'The Ely Memoranda and the Economy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Fenland', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 45 (2016), 333–77.

this kind of pre-existing documentation, in addition to the great volume of material produced as part of the Domesday process itself.[105]

In her discussion of the Confessor's preferment of royal clerks Mary Frances Giandrea (née Smith) suggested that the minster churches with which Edward endowed his Lotharingian clerks probably functioned as centres of royal as well as ecclesiastical administration.[106] Indeed, John Blair's comprehensive survey of the evolution of English minsters highlighted the intimate connection between royal estates and minster churches at every stage of their development.[107] If minsters were specifically employed as centres of royal administration in the localities, as well as instruments of patronage, it helps to explain why William I was so assiduous about recovering churches assigned to clerks who went on to become bishops, after those bishops died. We can see this policy in action in the rubrics of Great Domesday Book, as discussed above.[108] One prelate whose ministerial holdings were clearly delineated in the Great Domesday chapter list for Somerset is Maurice, bishop of London. In many ways, Maurice was the very epitome of the class of chaplain-bishops who flourished under William I, and a detailed look at his early career and involvement with the Domesday survey is therefore instructive.

[105] See Chapter 3, especially pp. 195–9.
[106] Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', p. 168.
[107] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 84–90, 323–9, 371.
[108] See Chapter 4, pp. 235–9.

Case study: Bishop Maurice of London

There was nothing unique or unprecedented about the career of Bishop Maurice of London (1085–1107). Indeed, I have chosen to focus on him in part because he was so typical, and his career so representative, of the group of eleventh-century curial bishops with which this chapter is primarily concerned. Nevertheless, Maurice was an important figure in the government of William I and, it is argued here, may have played a significant and underappreciated role in the Domesday process, alongside his more flamboyant and better recorded protégé, Ranulph Flambard. His early career and episcopate might, therefore, benefit from closer scholarly attention than they have hitherto received.

The chroniclers are mostly quiet on Maurice but one colourful detail does survive in the earlier version of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, where William noted, in the judgemental tone he often reserved for secular bishops, that Maurice was:

> A man restrained in other pleasures, but more sensually devoted to self-indulgent love of women than befitted a bishop. There was a persistent rumour that the remedy prescribed by his doctors was to look to the health of his body by the emission of humours. He was indeed unlucky to have safeguard[ed] the flesh by endangering his soul.[109]

[109] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, with R. M. Thomson, *Volume I: Text and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 230–1.

Malmesbury removed this salacious detail from the emended version of the *Gesta Pontificum*, replacing it with a more muted description of 'a man of tarnished reputation in certain respects, though rightly praised as a man of business'.[110] The use of the word *efficatia* (business/effectiveness) here is interesting, reflecting as it does the bureaucratic training which was the hallmark of so many eleventh-century chaplain-bishops' careers. First a royal clerk, then chancellor, then bishop of London during the reigns of three successive kings, one of whom he crowned, Maurice was at the centre of affairs in the Anglo-Norman kingdom for over thirty years, and yet we know comparatively little about him.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records Maurice's appointment as bishop of London at the Conqueror's Christmas court at Gloucester in 1085, the same assembly at which the Domesday survey itself was commissioned.[111] For his pre-episcopal career, however, we are dependent on documentary sources alone. Like most Anglo-Norman bishops, Maurice did not inspire any kind of episcopal biography, of the type that proliferated on the Continent.[112] Nothing certain is known of the circumstances of his birth or early life or where he was educated, although, as noted in Chapter 1, it is possible that he had Angevin origins.[113] Falco Neininger, in his introduction to the *English Episcopal Acta*

[110] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, pp. 230–1.
[111] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), (E) *s.a.* 1085, p. 161.
[112] For the lack of episcopal biographies in eleventh-century England, see introduction, pp. 10–2.
[113] See above, pp. 54–5.

volume for London 1076–1187, began his survey of Maurice's career at the moment of his appointment as a royal chaplain.[114]

It is possible that Maurice had some connection with the cathedral or city of Rouen before entering royal service. He certainly seems to have had an interest in the nunnery of Saint-Amand there. One of his early acts as bishop was to grant the tithes of four Continental properties to the abbey, the confirmation of which grant is preserved in a royal diploma issued during the final year of William I's reign.[115] As chancellor, Maurice had also been one of only four witnesses, and the only ecclesiastic, to attest a grant by King William to the same abbey of a weekly market at Saâne-le-Bourg.[116]

If Maurice's patronage of Saint-Amand was motivated by an earlier connection to Rouen, he would not have been unusual among his contemporaries. The Norman archiepiscopal see provided the king, either directly or indirectly, with a number of his chaplains and potentially four other bishops of English dioceses. Walkelin of Winchester was a canon there in the 1060s and Stigand of Selsey/Chichester is probably to be identified with the 'Stigand[us] cantor' who witnessed a diploma of Archbishop Maurilius issued sometime between 1055 and 1066.[117] Gundulf of Rochester also began his career at Rouen and William de Beaufeu was possibly related to Archbishop John.[118]

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[114] *English Episcopal Acta* XV: *London 1076–1187,* ed. Falco Neininger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xliii.
[115] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 242.
[116] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 240.
[117] 'Acte 209', *SCRIPTA. Base des actes normands médiévaux*, dir. Pierre Bauduin, Caen, CRAHAM-MRSH, 2010-2016. <https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/acte/209> (Accessed 11.04.17).
[118] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 64. Martin Brett, 'Gundulf (1023/4–1108)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11738> (Accessed 11.04.17); H. E. J. Cowdrey,

We are on firmer ground with Maurice's role as archdeacon of Le Mans, though it remains unclear when he was appointed and whether he ever served as archdeacon in practice, or was simply awarded the position as a sinecure in return for his service to William I.[119] The only evidence for his incumbency is a 1082 diploma in favour of the church of Saint-Calais, which he attested as 'Maurici[us] regis Anglorum cancellari[us] et Cenomannensis ecclesie archidiacon[us]'.[120] It seems unlikely that he spent a great deal of time in the city, especially after becoming chancellor in 1078, when he would have been required to be in regular attendance upon the king.[121]

It is also possible that Maurice had links to the abbey of Jumièges, though not a monk himself, since his death, in September 1107, was commemorated in the abbey obit book.[122] Such links may have been merely pious, however, rather than institutional. In short, like many of William's appointments to the royal chapel and the episcopal bench, Maurice may well have moved between institutions before entering royal service and belonged to a number of the overlapping professional networks upon which the Conqueror drew in his selection of candidates for high ecclesiastical office.

'William de Beaufou (*fl.* 1085–1091)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1852> (Accessed 11.04.17); for Ralph de Beaufour see Stephen Baxter, 'Ralph de Beaufour, fl. 1086', *PASE Domesday*, <http://domesday.pase.ac.uk> (Accessed 11.04.17). See also above, pp. 53–4.

[119] *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: Volume 1*, p. 1.

[120] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 253.

[121] *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru (Le Mans: Société des Archives Historiques du Maine, 1901).

[122] 'Bishops of London', *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 1, St. Paul's, London*, ed. Diana E Greenway (London, 1968), p.1.

In terms of his potential role in the Domesday process, the bishop's appointment at the same Christmas assembly at which the survey was commissioned in 1085 places him automatically within 'the circle of authority that produced Domesday'.[123] H. R. Loyn suggested that, as one of three newly minted bishops at the time of the enquiry, Maurice may not have been thought to have the 'authority, dignity and experience' required of an episcopal circuit commissioner.[124] It is equally possible, however, that his promotion at this particular juncture occurred precisely because the king wanted to appoint him as a commissioner.

Unlike Remigius of Lincoln, William of Durham, and Osmund of Salisbury, we have no evidence tying Maurice to a particular circuit. Leaving aside Circuit V, where Remigius is known to have operated, and taking into account the famous account by Bishop Robert the Lotharingian of how the commissioners were sent into counties they did not know, and therefore where they presumably held no land, that would leave Maurice as a possible candidate for Circuit I in the South East, Circuit IV in the Midlands, and the sprawling northern Circuit VI.

One intriguing piece of evidence which might serve to connect Maurice with the progress of the survey is the pair of writs recording the grant of Bishop's Stortford castle in Hertfordshire to the new bishop, both presumably issued between Christmas 1085 and the king's departure for Normandy in the autumn of 1086.[125] The first of these is a rare example of a surviving Old English

[123] Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 33.
[124] H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 223–35, p. 229.
[125] Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 189, 190. See also Chapter 2, above, pp. 104, 106–8.

royal writ datable to the later part of the Conqueror's reign. The addressees are Bishop Osmund of Salisbury, Robert d'Oilly, sheriff of Oxfordshire and perhaps Berkshire, and Peter de Valognes, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire. Of these individuals, as David Bates has noted, 'only Peter de Valognes is obviously associated with counties in which the church of St Paul's, London, and its canons held lands'.[126] Loyn's suggestion that Bishop Osmund's appearance among the addressees of this writ marks him out as a probable commissioner for Circuit III is widely accepted.[127]

Pamela Taylor noted that this writ is likely a confirmation rather than fresh grant of property, and suggested that William, bishop of London from 1051 to 1075, had been permitted to build a castle at Stortford, and that this writ confirmed Maurice's possession of the castle, along with the other lands held by his predecessor.[128] It is striking though that Great Domesday Book, which tells us that Maurice held six hides at Stortford, makes no mention of the castle.[129] Even though the castle existed before 1086, therefore, the confirmation of Maurice's possession of it from around the time of the survey seems significant.

The second Stortford writ for Bishop Maurice is in Latin. Bishop Osmund of Salisbury appears once again, this time as one of only two recorded witnesses in the surviving text of the writ, alongside William, bishop of Durham, another known Domesday commissioner.[130] It is therefore possible that confirmation of

[126] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 189.
[127] Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 229.
[128] Pamela Taylor, 'The Endowment and Military Obligations of the See of London: A Reassessment of Three Sources', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992), 287–312, p. 305.
[129] *Domesday Book: Hertfordshire*, 4,22.
[130] Bates, *Regesta*, no. 190; Loyn, 'William's Bishops', p. 228.

Stortford castle occurred late in the summer of 1086, after the first stage of the survey had been completed. Perhaps the survey itself inspired the new bishop to seek documentary proof of his possession. Indeed, it is tempting to attribute the Old English writ to the 'checking phase' of the Domesday process, during which the commissioners would have been away from their own shires and shire courts, and operating in the counties which comprised their assigned circuits; and the Latin one to the Lammas gathering in August 1086, at Salisbury itself.

This would help to explain why Osmund was addressed in a writ dealing with a grant in Hertfordshire and his appearance as the first witness in the Latin writ would also make sense in the context of the Lammas assembly in his diocese. Moreover, the attestation of the bishop of Durham alongside him would fit with the much-discussed entry in Exon Domesday, repeated in Great Domesday Book, recording how Bishop William was instructed to write down the confirmation of an earlier grant made to Walkelin of Winchester 'in brevibus'.[131] It seems possible that these grants were either made or confirmed in connection with the survey, and perhaps as rewards for their beneficiaries' services as commissioners.

One would expect the royal chancellor to be involved in any large administrative enterprise. By the time of his appointment to the see of London, Maurice had been chancellor for seven years. He was succeeded by Gerard, the nephew of Bishop Walkelin, who was precentor of Rouen and afterwards bishop of Hereford and archbishop of York. It is not certain exactly when Gerard

[131] EDB, 175a6; *Domesday Book: Somerset*, 2,9.

took on the functions of the chancellorship, however, since he does not attest any act in that capacity which can be securely dated to the Conqueror's reign.[132] Maurice was equipped with experience and a talented deputy, in the shape of his chaplain Ranulph Flambard, the keeper of the royal seal. Considering this, alongside the state of administrative upheaval into which the Domesday survey must have thrown the country, Sally Harvey's suggestion that Maurice and Ranulph may have continued to function together for much or all of 1086 seems very probable.[133]

If we turn from the survey and look for evidence of the potential role of Maurice and the cathedral chapter at St Paul's in the production of Great Domesday Book, we are hampered by the fact that the Great Domesday account of the city of London was never written up. This offers another parallel with Bishop Walkelin and the city of Winchester, which is also omitted. We are left instead with blank spaces before the chapter lists for Middlesex and Hampshire, where the account of the borough is usually to be found in other Domesday shires.[134] Nevertheless, there are some small hints that he and his canons might have occupied a position of significance in relation to the writing of Great Domesday.

The frequency with which Ranulph Flambard is given his distinctive sobriquet in Great Domesday Book, even when only holding as a subtenant, has

[132] For Gerard as chancellor, see Bates, *Regesta*, pp. 101–2; no. 278.
[133] Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, p. 128
[134] GDB, fols. 37v, 126v; for the layout of the Great Domesday chapter lists, see Chapter 4, above, pp. 224–5

been noted before, by Harvey, Frank Barlow, and David Roffe among others.[135] Comparison with Exon reveals that standard practice was for the scribe of Great Domesday Book to systematically omit the bynames of subtenants, a fact which makes their identification extremely challenging. Ranulph, however, was not the only subtenant to receive this unusual treatment in Great Domesday. In the account of the bishop of London's holdings in Middlesex, a number of episcopal subtenants are recorded with their bynames, or official titles, even those holding only small portions or larger estates. Thus at Stepney, for example, we have William de Vere and Ælfric Checepul each holding one hide from the bishop, and Edmund, son of Algot, holding a mill.[136] Taylor also noted that Bishop Maurice had a number of powerful subtenants at Stepney in 1086, including Flambard and Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux.[137]

Moreover, the chapter list for Middlesex indicates a division between the lands of the bishop of London, and those of his canons, a division which is borne out in the arrangement of the entries in the text itself. Some of these are recorded as being held by the canons in common; for example, the neighbouring vills of Willesden and Harlesden.[138] Others, meanwhile, are attributed to specific named canons, such as Durand and Gueri who held two hides apiece at Twyford, or Walter who held one hide near St Pancras.[139] This division reflects the working out of an incipient prebendal system already in place at St Paul's,

[135] Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement*, p. 126; Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 195; David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 247.
[136] *Domesday Book: Middlesex*, 3,5; 3,9; 3,10.
[137] Taylor, 'The Endowment and Military Obligations of the See of London', p. 311.
[138] *Domesday Book: Middlesex*, 3,17; 3,18.
[139] *Domesday Book: Middlesex*, 3,15; 3,16; 3,29.

but it is also a unique example in Great Domesday of the holdings of secular cathedral canons being clearly separated from those of the bishop.[140] Elsewhere such a separation is reserved only for monastic chapters. It seems to suggest that whoever the main Domesday scribe and his supervisor were, they were keen to preserve as many details as possible about the institutional structure of St Paul's and the identities of the bishop's subtenants.

As well as Middlesex, the diocese of London also comprised part of Hertfordshire and all of Essex. Neither the naming of subtenants nor the separation of episcopal and chapter property is maintained in Hertfordshire but the Little Domesday account of Essex distinguishes between the demesne lands of the bishop of London, the 'fief of the same bishop' (to indicate those estates which had subtenants), and the lands of the canons.[141]

In Great Domesday Book Scribe A could only work with the material he had available, and it may simply be that the circuit return for Circuit III offered differing levels of detail for the bishop of London's fief in Middlesex and Hertfordshire. A parallel may be seen in Exon where the royal demesne in Somerset is recorded in separate sections according to whether the estates had been held by King Edward TRE, or by Queen Edith, the widow and sons of Earl Godwine, or Wulfweard the White.[142] In Cornwall, meanwhile, all the king's lands are kept together under a single heading.[143] Scribe A chose to condense all

[140] The identities of the canons and the implication for the development of prebends at St Paul's are highlighted in *Anglo-Saxon Charters* X: *Charters of St Paul's, London*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2004), p. 106. The uniqueness of the division within Great Domesday Book, however, has not been observed before in print.
[141] *Domesday Book: Essex*, chapter list.
[142] Exon, fols. 88v–91v, 103r–107v, 113r–114v, 116r.
[143] Exon, fols. 99r–102v.

the material dealing with royal lands in Somerset into a single chapter in Great Domesday Book but seems to have preserved an earlier distinction for the St Paul's lands in Middlesex.

Though his background and training were indisputably Continental, Bishop Maurice developed a reputation for being sympathetic to English religious traditions and saints over the course of his pontificate. He fostered the cult of St Osyth in Essex, establishing four priests to serve the church of St Osyth and translating her shrine to a place behind the high altar.[144] Goscelin of St Bertin also dedicated two of his lives of native saints for Barking Abbey to Maurice, suggesting he was a patron of the nuns.[145] The cathedral chapter of St Paul's and the nearby secular collegiate foundation at St Martin-le-Grand seem to have been home to a mix of French, English and Lotharingian clergy.[146] No doubt, among the canons themselves, men from the Continent predominated over Englishmen. Indeed, the chapter at St Paul's had had a decidedly Continental flavour since the reign of Edward the Confessor. But, in following Michael Gullick's suggestion that the Great Domesday scribe seems to have been an Englishman, working at an institution under strong Norman influence, we could certainly arrive at less probable locations than St Paul's, on historical, if not necessarily on palaeographical, grounds.[147]

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[144] *English Episcopal Acta* XV: *London 1076–1187,* ed. Falco Neininger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xlvii.
[145] *English Episcopal Acta* XV: *London*, p. xlvii.
[146] Kelly, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: St Paul's*, p. 47.
[147] Michael Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday manuscripts', *Domesday Book: Studies*, ed. Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1987), 93–112, p. 105.

An English *Reichskirchensystem*

Nothing about William I's episcopal appointments or reliance on his prelates was entirely new or unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. His ecclesiastical policy was shaped by the same concerns which had motivated his predecessors to promote men from their chapels. It also mirrored Continental practices, especially in the Empire, where William's contemporary Henry IV was fighting hard to maintain his ability to appoint royal chaplains to episcopal office.[148] What marked William's policy out from that of his predecessors and his Continental counterparts was the uniquely free hand offered to him by the circumstances of the Conquest, and his determination to use that advantage to full effect. The Conqueror had no vested interests or existing aristocratic factions to appease because the great comital families of Edward the Confessor's England were all destroyed in the Battle of Hastings or the rebellions of the later 1060s and 1070s. The relative circumspection which characterised the appointments of another conquering eleventh-century king, Cnut, throws into sharp relief how radical William's approach was.[149]

Moreover, the Conqueror seems to have committed himself fully to the use of the royal chapel as an instrument of government. Karl Leyser, reading between the lines of Fleckenstein's study of the *Hofkapelle*, estimated that there were about fifteen men in the Ottonian royal chapel at any given time under

[148] Josef Fleckenstein, 'Heinrich IV und der deutsche Episkopat in den Anfängen de Investiturstreites. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik von Worms, Tribur und Canossa', *Adel und Kirche: Festschrift für Gerd Tellenbach* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 221–36, pp. 235–6.
[149] Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 77–8, 94–5.

Otto III and Henry II: the high point of the institution in Germany.[150] Fleckenstein calculated that there were thirty-five across the two reigns combined. By contrast, Chapter 1 estimated that William was served by up to forty-three chaplains across the course of his reign, some of whom he inherited from the Confessor and others who came with him from Normandy. It is difficult to be confident about the exact dates of individual incumbents but even with a fairly high replacement rate it seems likely that there were usually at least fifteen chaplains serving simultaneously and perhaps sometimes more. William appears, therefore, to have been served by comparable numbers of chaplains to the last two Ottonian emperors, despite ruling over a geographically much smaller kingdom. The size of the chapel gave the Conqueror plenty of talented individuals to choose from when it came to selecting the twelve royal clerks promoted to the episcopate during the course of his reign.

If this was a deliberate and systematic policy — and the timing of the depositions in the 1070s, the comparison with the duke's episcopal appointments in Normandy, and the cultivation and promotion of so many royal chaplains all suggest that it was — then it was very effective. William's English bishops were loyal and competent. Unlike in Germany, or even in Normandy in the 1050s, no bishop appointed by William to an English diocese ever rebelled against him. On the contrary, they actively supported the royal cause in moments of crisis. In 1075, a revolt against the king by the earls of Hereford, East Anglia and Northumbria was quelled in large part by the efforts of

[150] Karl Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 721–53, p. 726.

Archbishop Lanfranc and Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, with the elderly Wulfstan even leading an army in person.[151]

A series of six surviving letters from Lanfranc provides us with an insight into the action that bishops might take in such situations. We have three letters to Earl Roger of Hereford, in which the increasingly exasperated Lanfranc tried to address the earl's grievances and defuse the situation before it turned into armed rebellion, before ultimately excommunicating him.[152] Around the same time we also have a letter to King William in Normandy, urging him not to return to England but to trust that Lanfranc had the situation under control, and then a later communication that Norwich castle had been surrendered by the rebels and the Breton mercenaries who had been guarding it exiled.[153] Finally there is a letter from the winter of 1075 to Bishop Walcher of Durham, urging him to fortify Durham castle against the approach of a Danish army.[154] We must be a little circumspect in approaching these letters, carefully selected as they were by a member of the archbishop's entourage after his death.[155] Nevertheless they do seem to suggest that bishops commonly took an active role in ensuring the security of the kingdom, using all the spiritual and temporal mechanisms at their disposal.

In administrative affairs, the role of William's prelates was even more important. They presided over the shire assemblies where the king's instructions to the localities were delivered, and thus over a central mechanism

[151] Craig M. Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders in Anglo-Norman England: 1066–1154', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 12 (2014), 51–80, pp. 58–9.
[152] *Letters of Lanfranc*, nos. 31, 32, 33.
[153] *Letters of Lanfranc*, nos. 34, 35
[154] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 36.
[155] *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 11–3.

of eleventh-century English government. Each of the teams of commissioners responsible for overseeing the Domesday survey also seems to have been led by a bishop. Their contribution to one of the most intensive exercises in royal administration anywhere in the medieval West was huge. They may have lacked the aristocratic breeding and perhaps some of the intellectual polish that defined the great 'prince-bishops' of tenth- and eleventh-century Continental Europe,[156] but the Anglo-Norman episcopate under William I came as close as its imperial equivalent to functioning as a genuine *Reichskirchensystem*.

[156] Frank Barlow argued that Ealdred of York was 'the closest to a "prince-bishop" that England could produce' in Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, p. 86; for the figure of the 'courtier bishop' on the Continent see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 19–48.

Conclusion

> I have both here and elsewhere trawled through the obscurest histories, though I do not have here the advantage of the same bountiful supply of information as in the *History of the Kings*. *There*, I could borrow something from the Chronicle I had by me; it was as though a beacon were shining bright from some high vantage point to keep my course from straying. But *here* I am devoid of almost all help. I grope my way through a dense fog of ignorance, and no lantern of history goes before to direct my path.[1]
>
> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*

This thesis has not upended the orthodoxy on the episcopate of William I. Much of what has been argued here was implicit or explicit in the works of Frank Barlow, H. R. Loyn and others; from the importance of the royal chapel as a recruiting ground for loyal and experienced bishops, to the expectation that, once appointed, they would act as agents of royal power in the localities, to the high probability that every team of Domesday circuit commissioners was

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, *Volume I: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 2–5. ('Hic et alibi traxi stilum per latebrosissimas historias, quamquam michi non hic affluat eadem copia scientiae quae in Gestis Regum. Siquidem ibi, aliquid de Cronici quae pre me habebam mutuatus, uelut e sullimi specula fulgente facula, qua gressum sine errore tenderem, ammonebar. Hic autem destitutus solatio, crassas ignorantiae tenebras palpo, nec ulla lucerna historiae preuia semitam dirigo').

headed by a bishop.[2] Indeed, it has long been a historiographical commonplace that Anglo-Norman bishops, at least until the civil war of Stephen's reign, and probably until the Becket controversy, should be regarded as fundamentally the king's men.[3] It has been the aim of the present study to examine how that role played out in practice and, by re-examining the evidence of contemporary documentary survivals, to navigate a clearer path through the 'dense fog of ignorance' surrounding the day to day political and administrative activities of mid-eleventh-century bishops.[4]

For the most part, the structures which underpinned the relationship between William I and his prelates were fairly informal, but the personal relationships themselves were extremely close. Three of the king's most trusted advisors in England were bishops of Norman or English dioceses. These were his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux, Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. As highlighted in Chapter 2, all three of these men seem to have exercised vice-regal powers at times during William's reign, yet none of them held any kind of title which specifically reflected this delegated authority. When they appear in the address clauses of contemporary writs, it is

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[2] Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066: A Constitutional History* (London: Longman, 1963), pp. 65, 96–9, 115–9; *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo–Norman Church* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 60–1, 275–6; H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 223–35, pp. 228–30; *The English Church, 940–1154* (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 226–7.

[3] Martin Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 91; Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 92, 268; Everett U. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p. 2; David Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy under the Normans and Angevins', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 5 (1983), 220–33, pp. 220–2; Patrick Wormald, 'Laga Eadwardi: The *Textus Roffensis* and its Context', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1995), 243–66, p. 264; for the opposing view, that earlier precedents for the conflict between church and state that occurred in Henry II's reign have been underplayed, see Stephen Marritt, 'The Bishops of King Stephen's Reign' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, November 2002), pp. 214–6.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, p. 5.

invariably as *episcopus* or *archiepiscopus*. We also have only limited records of how episcopal appointments or (largely nominal) elections actually took place in this period.[5] Terse accounts such as that in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, of how 'at Christmas [1085], the king was at Gloucester with his Council, and held his court there for five days, and then the archbishop and clerics had a synod for three days. There, Maurice was elected Bishop of London, and William for Norfolk, and Robert for Cheshire', provide us with few details.[6]

Just because the norms which governed the relationship between the monarch and his prelates were informal, however, it does not follow that kings were unable to make active and strategic choices about the bishops they appointed to particular sees. Chapter 5 questioned Everett U. Crosby's characterisation of Anglo-Norman episcopal appointments as motivated purely by the 'exigencies of the moment',[7] arguing that William I's appointments should in fact be viewed as part of a coherent and long-term strategy. Both William I and Edward the Confessor before him seem to have tried to balance the powers in their kingdom through their choice of bishops. Edward's appointment of Robert of Jumièges as archbishop of Canterbury in 1051, in preference over Æthelric, a kinsman of Godwine, earl of Wessex and Kent, should perhaps be viewed in parallel with William I's decision to make Odo an earl in Kent but not archbishop of Canterbury.[8] In both cases, the king seems to have used an archiepiscopal appointment to ensure that power was not

[5] Barlow, *English Church, 1000–1066*, pp. 99–115.
[6] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), (E) *s.a.* 1085, p. 161.
[7] Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, p. 28.
[8] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 59.

concentrated in the hands of a single individual or family in a strategically vital part of the kingdom.

The comparison serves to highlight that much of the role of bishops in English government after the Norman Conquest was not new. The policy of training royal priests for episcopal office had been employed periodically throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and intensively by Edward the Confessor.[9] Patronising clerks with the headship of royal minsters was also an established practice, which William I continued to exploit heavily.[10] The Conquest undoubtedly ushered in many ecclesiastical changes, not least the radical overhaul of the episcopate in the early 1070s, but for those clerks who survived the transition from Edward to William, the structures of patronage which supported them must have seemed very familiar.

The background and training of each of the men whom the Conqueror singled out for episcopal promotion in England and Normandy were summarised in Chapters 1 and 5 respectively. It was argued that the 1050s and 1060s in Normandy saw a shift in the type of bishops Duke William appointed, with a number of educated 'outsiders' being preferred ahead of members of the ducal kindred, and that this policy was later replicated by William in England. Consequently the episcopal bench in England by the time of the Domesday survey of 1086 was home to men of different nationalities and professional backgrounds but none, apart from Osbern fitzOsbern, who were of noble birth.

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[9] Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), 185–222, p. 191; Mary Frances Smith, 'The preferment of royal clerks in the reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73.

[10] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 364–7; Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100*, (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2013).

Having deposed men who had familial connections to pre-Conquest comital families, William preferred not to advance aristocrats to fill their sees.

Twelve of the sixteen men the Conqueror appointed to English dioceses had previously served in the royal chapel. Yet, in spite of the crucial importance of the chapel as an instrument for episcopal recruitment, the division between secular clerks and monks should not be drawn too strongly for this period. The sharp divide between monks and secular bishops implied in the work of twelfth-century chroniclers, especially William of Malmesbury, is actually somewhat artificial. In reality there was a high degree of overlap between monastic and secular institutions in this period. We can see this in the appointment of the monk Remigius to the secular bishopric of Dorchester/ Lincoln and of the canon Walkelin to monastic Winchester, in the patronage of monasteries and nunneries by secular bishops like Maurice of London, in the employment of William of St Calais, while still abbot of St Vincent-des-Prés, on diplomatic missions in the service of the king, and in the cathedral chapters in which canons were replaced by monks, or adopted a *vita communis* while remaining secular.

In terms of the contribution of bishops to royal government once in office, their continued role in presiding over the shire court was paramount. Chapter 2 demonstrated that bishops continued to be addressed in a high proportion of surviving royal writs, even after the disappearance of the old territorial earldoms. It suggested that their power in the localities might actually have been enhanced by this development, as Judith Green has argued

for the power of sheriffs.[11] It also highlighted the fact that the shift from Old English to Latin as the primary language of central royal administration in c.1070 coincided with the replacement of a number of English prelates by men from the Continent, and suggested a link between the two developments.

Bishops presumably presided, too, over the shire court meetings which formed such an important part of the early stages of the Domesday survey. This public role, combined with the fact that they tended to represent institutions which already had cultures of written record keeping, meant that they were uniquely well placed to defend their own interests and those of their cathedral communities. The ability of Bishop Wulfstan and Archbishop Lanfranc to use this position to their advantage has been highlighted by Stephen Baxter and Pamela Taylor respectively.[12] Chapter 3 argued that Giso of Wells might also have managed to secure, not the wholesale manipulation of his fief in Exon Domesday, but at least an account of it which included all the elements that were favourable to the bishop and minimised any which were not.

The intimate involvement of bishops and clerks in every stage of the Domesday process has been highlighted throughout; from the decision to commission the survey at the same Christmas assembly at which three new bishops were appointed, to the probable presence of a bishop at the head of each team of circuit commissioners, the likely role of episcopal households and cathedral chapters in providing scribes, the authorship of one of the most

[11] Judith Green, *English sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks, no. 24 (1990), p. 12.
[12] Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 73–102; Pamela Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. David Roffe and Katharine Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 197–218, pp. 211–5.

compelling narrative accounts of the survey by Bishop Robert of Hereford, and the Exon entry and royal writ which place Walkelin of Winchester, William of Durham, Osmund of Salisbury and Maurice of London all together at Salisbury in August 1086, when all the landholders in England came to do homage to King William for their lands.[13] When all these connections are considered together, they create a compelling picture of an administrative enterprise with a distinctly episcopal flavour.

Unlike his successors, William I almost never left bishoprics vacant for any length of time. Crosby has calculated that there were a total of nine years of cumulative vacancy during the Conqueror's reign, in England and Normandy combined.[14] That amounts to an average of 0.43 years of vacancy for every year that William ruled, across all twenty-one of the dioceses which comprised the Anglo-Norman realm. By contrast, during the reign of William II there were 1.23 years of vacancy per year of rule, for Henry I the figure was 2.17, and for Henry II it was 3.54. Barlow generally viewed short vacancies as evidence of royal commitment to proper ecclesiastical norms and long ones as a sign of falling standards.[15] Chroniclers lamented the tendency of kings to appropriate the revenues of bishoprics during vacancies, as Henry I apparently did at Canterbury after the death of Anselm.[16] Barlow calculated that, by the end of his reign, William Rufus was receiving approximately one fifth of his income from

[13] See above, pp. 154, 281.
[14] Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, p. 42.
[15] Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, pp. 67–8, 77, 84, 92.
[16] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, *Volume I: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 108–9.

ecclesiastical vacancies.[17] Vacancies, therefore, could be an important source of profit for Anglo-Norman kings and the Conqueror's decision to keep them short meant forgoing that income. His commitment to swiftly appointing new bishops upon the death of an incumbent might be deemed a sign of piety, but it is perhaps better viewed as a testament to the reliance of William I on his prelates. He valued their assistance in government more than the revenues of their dioceses. More than any of his Continental contemporaries, King William looked to his bishops to help him navigate the political and administrative challenges of consolidating his rule over a foreign and sometimes hostile kingdom. The Conqueror's bishops played a profound role in almost every aspect of the government of England.

[17] Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 238–9.

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